



FREEDOM OF INFORMATION AND PRIVACY ACTS

SUBJECT: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

FILE NUMBER: 100-4712

PART: 8 OF 19



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

FILE DESCRIPTION
BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT America First Committee

FILE NO. 100-4712

SECTION NO. 8

SERIALS 371

through

403

12200

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

FILE NO. 100-994

b7c

No chapters of America First Committee ever existed in this Field Division. One meeting of an unaffiliated group characterized as Isolationists and proNeutrality, held at the Peabody Hotel, Memphis, Tennessee on 11-11-41, but no permanent organization effected and no activity noted after initial meeting.

BUC

ENCE:

Bureau letter dated 3-16-42
Bureau teletype dated 5-11-42

5.

This investigation is predicated upon Bureau communications of reference which requested investigation to ascertain whether the America First Committee is being kept in operation with a view towards the use of this organization by individuals or groups in a manner detrimental to the Internal Security of this country.

AT NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

The following investigation was conducted by Special Agent b7c

11c, Tennessee advised that the America First Committee had never operated
wills to the best of his knowledge. [redacted] stated that he knew it never
openly and believed it never operated under cover. [redacted] furnished
the names of [redacted] and [redacted] According

<p><i>Exempt</i></p> <p>DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES</p> <p>100-4712-1371</p> <p>RECORDED & INDEXED</p> <p>MAY 23 1942</p> <p><i>6/21</i></p> <p><i>b7c</i></p>	<p>DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES</p>
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to [REDACTED] these individuals would know of any operations on the part of the America First Committee in Nashville, Tennessee.

Agent [REDACTED] interviewed [REDACTED] Nashville, Tennessee, who advised that he had never heard of the America First Committee operating in any manner in Nashville, Tennessee. [REDACTED] further advised that if the subject Committee did operate at all in Nashville, or vicinity, he was sure that he would have heard of such operation.

[REDACTED] Nashville, related upon interview that he was formerly [REDACTED]. He also advised that the America First Committee had never operated in Nashville in any manner. [REDACTED] advised the agent that if the America First Committee should attempt in any manner to set up a functioning organization in Nashville or if individuals known to harbor "Isolationist" sympathies attempted to spread any such propaganda, he would immediately advise this office. b7c b7d

[REDACTED] Nashville, [REDACTED] advised that the America First Committee never operated in any manner in Nashville, Tennessee to the best of his knowledge.

AT JACKSON, TENNESSEE

The following investigation was conducted by Special Agent [REDACTED]

In an effort to ascertain whether the subject Committee has ever operated or is now operating in Jackson, Tennessee or vicinity, Special Agent [REDACTED] contacted [REDACTED].

Each of these individuals advised they were virtually positive that no chapter of the America First Committee ever existed in Jackson, Tennessee or vicinity. Likewise, they added that no organized group, whatever which professed sympathies akin to the America First Committee ever existed in this area. Each of these men stated in substance that if such an organization had ever operated in Jackson, Tennessee, it was sure to have become known to them and each of them volunteered their cooperation with the Bureau, adding that should any information reflecting the activities of the subject Committee come to their attention, they would immediately report same to this office.

AT MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

The following investigation was conducted by the writer.

It should be noted that on the night of November 11, 1941, Special Agents [REDACTED] attended a meeting of the Fight For Freedom Committee at the Peabody Hotel.

As reported by these agents, the Fight For Freedom Committee, after gathering at the Peabody Hotel, learned that another group of individuals was then meeting in another part of the Hotel, which group, thought to be associated with the America First Committee, was called for the purpose of protecting the repeal of the Neutrality Act. Agents [REDACTED] reported that after learning of this information, [REDACTED] of the Fight for Freedom Committee suggested that his group visit this meeting of the "Isolationists" and thereupon all members of the Fight For Freedom Committee, together with Agents [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] went in and joined the alleged America First Committee. b7c

This latter group, according to the above agents, was led by MRS. C. ARTHUR BRUCE and [REDACTED]. Speaking at this meeting for the Isolationist Group were MR. ROBERT L. MOBLEY and MR. A. HORACE KELLY. It was also noted that in attendance at this meeting were [REDACTED] b2 b7c

According to the above mentioned agents' report, there ensued a heated debate between representatives of the two groups of the advantages and disadvantages of the Neutrality Bill. No further information of value with respect to instant meeting was furnished by Special Agents [REDACTED] b2 b7c

[REDACTED] press clippings from the Memphis Commercial Appeal Newspaper for November 12, 1941, which related to the instant meeting, were secured. The first such article captioned "Citizens Meet On Neutrality Act - Heckled" advised in substance that members of the Fight For Freedom Committee marched into an Armistice Night meeting of a group of about thirty-five citizens assembled at the Hotel Peabody to oppose repeal of the Neutrality Act.

Continuing, the news article further advised that the scheduled meeting of those citizens opposing the repeal of the Neutrality Act had been called by MRS. C. ARTHUR BRUCE and MRS. RUTH C. O'BORNACH. It was stated that MR. A. HORACE KELLY of Kelly and Jamison Linotypers had the floor at the "time of the invasion by the Fight For Freedom Committee Members". The newspaper article in question reported that the Fight For Freedom Members heckled the speakers for the other group, charging them with being proLindbergh, antiRoosevelt and proNazi. MR. KEER JOHNSON of the Fight For Freedom Committee, also charged, as reported in the newspaper, that this group was just "another renegade Lindbergh, Nazified America First Committee". "They did not use the name last night, but the Chairman, Mrs. Bruce, was personally a support of Lindbergh and his group of hireling Nazis". MR. JOHNSON also stated in the instant news article that the local Memphis Group was doing the same sort of

work the America First Committee is doing, and charging the Isolationist Group with "Jew-baiting" demanded of MRS. BRUCE, the Chairman, as to whether she supported Lindbergh, Wheeler and his crowd. When so questioned, the news article reported that MRS. BRUCE had replied that she, personally, was a supporter of Lindbergh. She denied, however, that LINDBERGH had ever been guilty of "Jew-baiting". It was stated that about thirty members of the proNeutrality Isolationist Group signed a petition directed to the Congress against repeal of the Neutrality Act.

The second article with respect to the instant meeting, likewise appeared in the Memphis Commercial Appeal, under date of November 12, 1941, captioned "Peace Advocates In Uproar Following ProWar Invasion". This article bore the by-line BRUCE TUCKER and since the information contained in this article is substantially the same as reported hereinbefore, it will not be repeated.

[REDACTED] was thereupon interviewed with respect to the proNeutrality Isolationist Group which held the meeting at the Peabody Hotel on the night of November 11, 1941. He advised that to the best of his knowledge, the group was closely akin in sympathies and purpose to the America First Committee. He stated, however, that after this initial meeting which was attended by a nebulous group of citizens of Memphis who advocated the Isolationist position, no organization was effected and, in his opinion, no further activities were carried on. He added that the militant activities of the Fight For Freedom Committee, together with American sentiment generally, at this period, was instrumental in preventing this group from ever attaining any wide support or working effectiveness in Memphis. b2 b7D

[REDACTED] stated that the prime movers behind this Isolationist Group were MRS. C. ARTHUR BRUCE, wife of the President of the E. L. BRUCE LUMBER COMPANY of Memphis, who is known to have held deep-seated Isolationist sympathies. b2 b7D

[REDACTED]

He added that they had always been exponents of a pacifist-isolationist point of view; however, he reported he could supply no information suggesting dangerous or unAmerican tendencies.

With respect to [REDACTED] advised that [REDACTED] is well known in Memphis as an active liberal, if not radical. It was stated that [REDACTED] is known to be [REDACTED] and was active at one time on behalf of the Spanish Loyalist Cause, aiding in securing contributions to this end. [REDACTED] was described as a militant liberal, known to harbor Isolationist sympathies. It was stated that she has taken one or two trips to South America

within the past several years and, according to the informant, this appears most unusual, in view of the small salary which her husband receives [REDACTED]. The purpose of these visits to South America was not known to the informant.

[REDACTED] was likewise questioned with respect to the reputation of [REDACTED] but he could supply no detailed information of value, merely stating that [REDACTED] was thought to be a bitter opponent of this Administration's foreign policy. b2 b7D

[REDACTED] could furnish no further information of value concerning other members of the instant proNeutrality Group. b2 b7D

[REDACTED] advised upon contact that he knew little concerning the instant Isolationist Committee mentioned hereinbefore in this report. He advised, however, that MRS. C. ARTHUR BRUCE was a moving spirit in the organization which, in his opinion, never attained any importance and which, to the best of his knowledge, held only one meeting. b7C

[REDACTED] advised that he, himself, had become interested in the Fight For Freedom Committee at the instance of MR. WENDELL L. WILLKIE, Former Republican Candidate for President of the United States and as a result of his activities on behalf of this Committee he had incurred the displeasure of several of the old Republican families in Memphis, noteworthy among which were Mr. and Mrs. C. ARTHUR BRUCE. [REDACTED] related that he was familiar with the "free for all" debate between members of the Fight For Freedom Committee and the instant Isolationist Group at the Hotel Peabody in Memphis on Armistice Night, 1941, but stated that he opposed the tactics employed by the Fight For Freedom Committee and felt that they defeated their own purpose by resorting to such rowdy tactics.

In conclusion, [REDACTED] reported that his impression of the Neutrality Group headed by MRS. C. ARTHUR BRUCE was that it was composed of patriotic American citizens opposed to the Interventionist Policies of the Roosevelt Administration. He felt that there was no official connection whatever between this group and the America First Committee and added that he was sure that the group ceased to function after Pearl Harbor.

[REDACTED] was contacted at [REDACTED], Memphis, Tennessee and was questioned with respect to the America First Committee, as well as the proNeutrality Group which held a meeting at the Hotel Peabody on November 11, 1941. [REDACTED] advised that he was formerly [REDACTED] and, in that connection, was aware of the fact that an Isolationist Group did function for a short time in Memphis.

He stated that to the best of his knowledge, this group held only one meeting, which was the meeting referred to previously in this report. He advised that he was not then present at the meeting and, as a matter of fact, opposed his Committee's (The Fight for Freedom Committee) precipitating the fracas.

He advised that the other group was composed largely of women of the "It Can't Happen Here" variety, as well as pacifists and isolationists. He knew of no connection which the group had with the America First Committee and indicated that only one meeting was held, at which time a petition was sent to the Congress demanding repeal. [REDACTED] added that he knew of no unpatriotic or subversive individuals in the group.

[REDACTED] upon interview advised that he had been a former member of the Fight For Freedom Committee until this group abandoned upon the advent of America's entry into the war. When questioned with respect to the America First Committee and any alleged affiliates thereof in Memphis, [REDACTED] revealed that he was familiar with the small proisolationist Group which held one meeting at the Hotel Peabody on November 11, 1941. He considered this group totally harmless, advising that it was composed largely of women who, by reason of sentimentality, were opposed to America's entry into any war, stating that this group was led by MRS. C. ARTHUR BRUCE. He related that she was considered thoroughly patriotic, however, much misguided. He also added that this group had no organization and for the purpose of this one meeting attracted individuals of wide shades of political opinions. He stated that persons of a pacifist, socialistic and Communistic tinge allegedly attended this meeting and he added this was in stark contrast to the old-guard Republicanism of MRS. C. ARTHUR BRUCE [REDACTED] b7c b7d

In conclusion, [REDACTED] revealed that he had heard no information whatever concerning the group since America's entry into war and he advised that this group was the only thing which even remotely resembled an America First Committee in Memphis.

[REDACTED] was interviewed with respect to the America First Committee at his residence [REDACTED] stated that he knew very little concerning the America-First Committee or any sympathizing organization in Memphis. He stated that he had read newspaper accounts of the meeting of the proNeutrality Group at the Peabody Hotel on Armistice Night but added he was in no position whatever to furnish information with respect to its aims, purposes or memberships.

It being noted that [REDACTED] had attended the instant meeting at the Hotel Peabody, [REDACTED] was questioned about this individual. He reported that he had only met [REDACTED] perhaps once or twice and therefore could not vouch for his character; however, he added that [REDACTED]

is a Nationally Known Group composed, for the most part, of high-minded Christian pacifists, whose purpose is not to foment disunity, but rather to promote respect among the American people for persons holding to a truly pacifistic position.

He advised that [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] is an instrumental leader of this organization.

Recalling that [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] had been forced to resign from this institution because of his pacifist views, the writer contacted [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] and inquired of him as to whether any demonstration from Isolationist Groups or America First Committee Chapters had resulted pursuant to [REDACTED] dismissal [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] thereupon stated that there had been a few disconnected protests as a result of [REDACTED] dismissal from the faculty [REDACTED]; however, he added that these protests came rather from isolated individuals than from any organized group. He was unable to furnish any information, whatever, with respect to any America First Committee in Memphis or vicinity.

[REDACTED] He was contacted and stated that he was familiar with the proNeutrality Group which held its meeting on Armistice Night, 1941, at the Peabody Hotel. He added that he was not present at this meeting, with other members of the Fight For Freedom Committee, inasmuch as he disapproved of the "rough house tactics" employed by some members of that group.

He stated, however, that from comment heard subsequent to this meeting and from newspaper accounts, he had gathered that the instant isolationist group in Memphis, though not officially known as a chapter of the America First Committee, was definitely aligned with the group in its political sympathies.

It was stated that the group in Memphis espoused WHEELER and LINDBERGH and was very much opposed to the Administration's foreign policies. Continuing, [REDACTED] advised that to the best of his knowledge the group had ceased to function altogether after this initial meeting and he added that he felt sure this one meeting was the only public expression of isolationist sentiment ever made in Memphis.

[REDACTED] could furnish no definite information as to the reputation of those individuals who attended this isolationist meeting; however, he said that they were for the most part, in his opinion, patriotic Americans who were asleep until after Pearl Harbor.

In a further effort to develop complete information concerning

the instant isolationist group, mentioned hereinbefore in this report and to discover if possible whether any connection existed between this group and the America First Committee, the writer contacted [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] told the writer that his convictions with respect to so-called isolationism were a matter of public record, inasmuch as [REDACTED] in which he favored a noninterventionist foreign policy. He likewise indicated that his wife had shared his views and had not hesitated to express herself along these lines.

[REDACTED] reported, however, that after America's entry into the war, it was too late to do anything but contribute an all-out effort towards victory. He indicated that his wife also felt the same way. b7

With respect to the instant Isolationist meeting on November 11, 1941, [REDACTED] stated that he, himself, [REDACTED] and therefore knew very little concerning the meeting except what he had learned upon his return. He advised that [REDACTED] is a very militant woman with definite convictions and that she [REDACTED] together with other women in Memphis, who shared noninterventionist views, decided to call a public meeting at the Hotel Peabody on the night of November 11, 1941. b7c

[REDACTED] advised that he knew nothing of the suggested meeting and he added that he would not have opposed it had he known. He stated that its members were composed largely of a few elderly women in town, together with other people who generally shared the same view with respect to foreign policy.

[REDACTED] reported that [REDACTED] was very much embarrassed by the publicity received from the meeting and felt that the action of the Fight for Freedom Committee was totally unjustified. Nevertheless, [REDACTED] advised that to his knowledge, those citizens attending this initial meeting never organized in any manner, nor did they formulate any program calling for permanent organization. He described the meeting as purely a public demonstration, by a small group, the purpose of which was to demonstrate for retention of the Neutrality Laws.

[REDACTED] advised that he, himself, had been in sympathy with the America First Committee program, as had his wife, but he stated that neither of them was affiliated with the group and he added that the proNeutrality meeting in Memphis was not sponsored, nor did it have any connection with the America First Committee. He advised that he was not familiar with any group or chapter of the former America First Committee, which is at present operating

b7c

ing in Tennessee, or even the Nation, and he advised that in the event he received information to this effect, he would immediately get in touch with this office.

[redacted], Memphis, Tennessee reported as being in attendance at the meeting of the Neutrality Group at the Peabody Hotel in Memphis on November 11, 1941, was interviewed by the writer at which time she advised that she had learned [redacted] that a meeting of individuals opposed to the Administration's foreign policy was scheduled for that date, November 11, 1941, at the Peabody Hotel. [redacted]

She advised, however, that she had had no official connection with the group, if such existed, prior to that time and she indicated that the one meeting was the only public expression of opposition to the interventionists that ever took place in Memphis.

[redacted] frankly admitted that both she and her husband were at one time, members of the National subject Organization and had made contributions to its support. She stated, however, that the America First Committee disbanded immediately after Pearl Harbor and she said that she had not heard of its being revived in any form.

[redacted] was unable to supply further information of value reporting that she was away from Memphis [redacted] during most of 1941 and for that reason was not familiar with the local political situation.

She volunteered her cooperation stating that she would furnish this office with any information relating to the America First Committee which she should learn.

There being no further investigation to be conducted in this matter in this Field Division, this case is accordingly being referred upon completion to the office of origin.

REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **CHICAGO, ILLINOIS**

FILE NO. **100-1395**

REPORT MADE AT DES MOINES, IOWA	DATE WHEN MADE 5-22-42	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 5-21-42	REPORT MADE BY [REDACTED] b7c
TITLE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE			CHARACTER OF CASE INTERNAL SECURITY (G)

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

Des Moines Division files reflect America First Committee originally became active in Iowa in June, 1941 when local chapters were formed at Davenport, Des Moines, and Dubuque. Preliminary survey indicates committee activities in Iowa were limited in scope and backed mostly by prominent businessmen and Republicans.

-P-

REFERENCE:

Bureau letter to Des Moines dated 3/16/42.

DETAILS:

AT DES MOINES, IOWA

The information set forth in this report was obtained solely as the result of a review of the information that previously had been volunteered to the Des Moines Office by sources of information in this Division.

The America First Committee originally came to the attention of the Des Moines Office when a committee of individuals at Des Moines announces the opening of the Des Moines Headquarters of the America First Committee at 200 Fifth Avenue, Des Moines, Iowa in the Des Moines Tribune of June 21, 1941. A clipping taken from that paper states that the Committee is the first organization of the non-interventionist type reported to have set up headquarters in Des Moines. The Executive Committee consisted of ROBERT J. BANNISTER, DONALD EVANS, and ADAMSON M. PARKER, all widely known Des Moines attorneys, Mrs. KATHERINE COLLINS, 1120-23rd Street, Des Moines, and S. W. LOWRY, President of the Lakeshore Tire and Rubber Company, Des Moines, Iowa.

APPROVED AND FORWARDED <i>[Signature]</i> SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES	
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	MAY 25 1942	b7c

At the time the release was made to the press concerning the formation of the Executive Committee, Mrs. KATHERINE COLLINS stated that JANET AYER FAIRBANK, National Officer of the America First Committee, came to Des Moines about June 1, 1941 and called together a group of twenty-five or thirty persons who had shown interest in the organization by writing to the National Office.

In the Des Moines Register for June 22, 1941 there appeared an article reflecting that a meeting of the Dubuque Chapter of the America First Committee was held at Dubuque, Iowa, which was announced by HERBERT A. HAUPTLIE, Chairman. At that meeting, a United States Senator, BURTON K. WHEELER, and Archbishop FRANCIS J. L. BECKMAN of Dubuque, who introduced Senator WHEELER, were the principal speakers and their speeches were carried on a nationwide radio network. HERBERT A. HAUPTLIE announced to the press at that time that the Dubuque Chapter had a membership of seven-hundred.

[REDACTED] in a memorandum submitted by Special Agent [REDACTED] dated November 26, 1941 at Des Moines, advised that the Davenport, Iowa Chapter of the America First Committee had moved its offices from a building on Fourth Street [REDACTED] b2 b7D b7C

[REDACTED] b2 b7D
He stated that his curiosity was first aroused when he heard some very derogatory remarks concerning the Jewish people, and also in view of the fact that most of the women patronizing the offices of the America First Committee appeared to speak broken English with a German accent.

He stated that he then began to listen to some of the conversation, and he produced several notes which he had taken while listening to some of this conversation. He stated that a [REDACTED] who is unknown to him, recently stated that all Jews are lice and snakes from within; that Jews control all of the chain stores; and that the Russians and the English are gangster nations. [REDACTED] has also heard conversations between [REDACTED] and other unknown individuals, who insisted that ROOSEVELT should be impeached, and he stated that they frequently quote the editorial page of the Chicago Tribune, praising highly the derogatory remarks made by the Tribune concerning the administration. He stated that women are continuously going in and out of this office, and that he heard one woman explain the methods of the committee to a new convert, at which time this woman explained that they are daily contacting new members in order to build up their membership, and this same person also indicated that [REDACTED] is a lousy Jew who controls all of the newspapers. b7

[REDACTED] further advised that on one occasion, [REDACTED] who is

known to the Des Moines Field Office, came into the offices of the America First Committee and talked to some young lady who appeared to be from the East, presumably from New York City. He stated that this young woman, who had a very decided Eastern accent, advised [REDACTED] that she had only been in Davenport for a year, and during the conversation which followed, [REDACTED] made the remark that ROOSEVELT had doublecrossed the American people, and stated that what the America First Committee needed was more displays such as the one which they presently maintained in their old office quarters on Fourth Street across from the Police Station. It should be mentioned at this point that the America First Committee has plastered the windows of this office building with various editorials from the Chicago Tribune, as well as cartoons and bulletins issued by the America First Committee. The aforementioned young lady went on to tell [REDACTED] that only a few days previous, she had been speaking to [REDACTED] whom she referred to as a supporter of the America First Committee, and that [REDACTED] told her one day that she was looking at the clippings and posters displayed in the Fourth Street Office when a soldier in uniform came along and also began looking at these clippings. According to this young woman, [REDACTED] talked to the soldier, asking him what he was fighting for and questioning him about conditions in the army. According to [REDACTED] this young lady also advised [REDACTED] or someone else that she intended to contact [REDACTED] again to see if she could not get more money for the America First Committee. This latter remark would indicate that [REDACTED] has already made some contribution. b7c

[REDACTED] also stated that a [REDACTED] who is believed to be b2 b7D an officer of the local America First Committee, made the statement that the Germans have never done anybody any harm, and has generally berated ROOSEVELT, the administration, and anyone who seems to be in sympathy with democracy. He further stated that most of the people coming to the America First Committee office seem to talk broken English with a German accent, and he is very much of the opinion that these people are carrying their beliefs to an extent which is entirely unpatriotic as well as unethical. [REDACTED] pointed out that he realized his position in b2 b7D this affair, and stated that he would not object to an honest difference of opinion. He went on to point out, however, that the remarks he has heard have led him to believe that the people now running the America First Committee in Davenport are decidedly un-American, and, in fact, appear to be entirely in sympathy with the Nazi regime and philosophy.

[REDACTED]

All of these individuals are known by the Des Moines Division to be reputable and patriotic; however, they are, for the most part, members of the Republican Party and have been strong isolationists and anti-administrators.

From a review of the files, there doesn't appear to be any information to indicate that any of the leaders of the America First Committee in Iowa were disloyal or unpatriotic in any manner. However, there does appear to be information, as reflected previously in this report, that the local chapters of the America First Committee, especially the Davenport, Iowa Chapter, were gathering places for Nazi sympathizers and persons of Axis sympathies.

-P E N D I N G-

- U N D E V E L O P E D L E A D S -

THE DES MOINES FIELD DIVISION

AT DES MOINES, IOWA

Will develop confidential informants and conduct investigation for the purpose of ascertaining whether or not the structure set up by the America First Committee in Iowa is now being used by foreign interests or by individuals cooperating with foreign interests in such a manner as to interfere with the war effort.

AT DAVENPORT, IOWA

Will conduct similar investigation.

AT DUBUQUE, IOWA

Will conduct similar investigation.

- P E N D I N G -

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**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET**

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **CHICAGO, ILLINOIS**

LOUISVILLE FILE NO. 100-1501

REPORT MADE AT LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY	DATE WHEN MADE 5/20/42	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 3/28, 4/1, 17, 5/18	REPORT MADE BY <div style="background-color: black; width: 100px; height: 1.2em; margin-bottom: 5px;"></div> <div style="background-color: black; width: 100px; height: 1.2em;"></div>
TITLE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE			CHARACTER OF CASE INTERNAL SECURITY - G

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

Preparations for an America First Rally at Louisville, Kentucky, were inaugurated by O. K. ARMSTRONG, Field Representative of subject organization, in June, 1941.

and advises that no subsequent activity in subject organization at Louisville,

stated he was an ardent promoter for an America First Rally in the city of Louisville until LINDBERGH's Des Moines speech, September, 1941, after which he dropped the entire project and has had no contacts with it nor anyone representing himself to be affiliated with this organization since that time. advises that he was approached by two men in September, 1941, who stated they were associated with the America First Committee.

- P -

REFERENCE:

Bureau letter dated March 16, 1942.

Bureau teletype to all Field Divisions dated May 11, 1942.

DETAILS:

The Louisville Times newspaper of June 5, 1941, carried an article relating the fact that preparations for a rally of the America First Committee were inaugurated by O. K. ARMSTRONG, Field representative of the subject organization in the early part of June, 1941.

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <div style="text-align: center; margin-top: 20px;"> SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE </div>	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES <div style="font-size: 1.5em; font-weight: bold; text-align: center;">100-4712-373</div>	COPIES OF THIS REPORT 5 Bureau 2 Chicago 3 Louisville
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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] was contacted by the writer in connection with another case and mention was made of the fact that [REDACTED] in connection with the America First Committee Rally. He freely volunteered the information that there had been no activity in the city of Louisville by the subject organization after the attempt to stage a rally at the Municipal Auditorium in the early part of June, 1941. He did state, however, that some time in the latter part of the summer in 1941, two men did approach him and [REDACTED] and that he declined this proffered position inasmuch as he felt that [REDACTED] he was not in a position to accept and further that he was not in complete accord with the program of the America First Committee. He stated that he did not recall the names of the individuals who approached him and that he had not given it a second thought until the matter was brought up by the writer.

[REDACTED] called at the Louisville Field Division as a result of a telephonic conversation with the writer and offered the following information with respect to the subject organization: He stated that his wife had written to the America First Committee in the early part of 1941 to obtain more complete information regarding this Committee's program. He stated that most likely as a result of her communications, Mr. O. K. ARMSTRONG, a field representative of the America First Committee, contacted him and advised that he would be in the city of Louisville sometime in June, 1941, and he requested that [REDACTED] assist him in [REDACTED] for an America First Rally. [REDACTED] stated that he was personally interested in the America First Committee in ascertaining the nature of their program. He stated that he liked to learn both sides of the question which was of paramount interest at that time, that is, the entry of the United States into war; and that in conjunction with this interest, he volunteered to do whatever he could to [REDACTED] for the purpose of holding the proposed rally. He further stated that Mr. ARMSTRONG contacted him and stated that he would hold a luncheon in Louisville in the early part of June, 1941, and that he wanted [REDACTED] and his wife to attend and at that time more definite arrangements would be made for the further staging of the proposed America First Rally. [REDACTED]

b7c
b7D

[redacted] continued by saying that Mr. ARMSTRONG arrived in the city of Louisville, [redacted] the above enumerated individuals were in attendance. [redacted] further stated that he attended this luncheon only after he had been assured by Mr. ARMSTRONG that there would be no publicity in connection therewith, but that several hours after the luncheon had terminated he picked up the Louisville Times newspaper and noted that an account of it together with the publication of his name and the others who were in attendance. To continue, [redacted] stated that [redacted] for the staging of the proposed rally and that he had been promised that Senator WHEELER or LINDBERGH would make a speech in the Auditorium. He added, however, that the proposed Rally was postponed twice and never did materialize.

[redacted] He further stated that he had done considerable public work in an effort to ascertain the public's sentiments toward the holding of the proposed rally but that all of his efforts were to satisfy his curiosity in connection with the entry into war in question and that at no time did he have any political interest. He stated that after CHARLES A. LINDBERGH made his speech at Des Moines, Iowa, in September, 1941, and upon observing the caustic criticism thereof, he abandoned the entire project and has heard nothing of it since that time. He assured the writer that the organization in the Louisville area is defunct, and as far as he knows there is no activity on the part of anyone to revive it.

[redacted] and that he was approached in September, 1941, by two men at his home whom he had never seen before. He stated that one of these men showed him a calling card on which were printed the names WHEELER - NYE - LINDBERGH, and [redacted]

He further stated that these men introduced themselves as [redacted] and [redacted]. He stated that [redacted] appeared to be the spokesman and requested that [redacted] attend a meeting to be held by the America First Committee at Vernon Hall on Storey Avenue, Louisville, Kentucky. Two or three days from the date of this visit was the date the meeting was to be held. He further stated that [redacted] extolled the virtues of the America First Committee platform and stated that they had quite an organization of Bundists in the vicinity of Louisville. [redacted] advised the writer that he did not attend the meeting to which he was invited and had heard no more from either [redacted] regarding the meeting. [redacted] stated that he made some inquiries into the background of [redacted] but was unable to ascertain anything definite regarding any possible un-Americanism.

UNDEVELOPED LEADS

LOUISVILLE FIELD DIVISION

AT LOUISVILLE: Will re-contact [REDACTED] and arrange to have him contact [REDACTED] in order to obtain further information regarding the possibility of the continued existence of the America First Committee in the Louisville area and any activities it might be engaged in. b7c

- P E N D I N G -

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

100-4712

MAY 26, 1942

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AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE; INTERNAL SECURITY - C. RETEL
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REQUEST DESIRED.

HOOVER

cc. Wash Field (224)
By Special Messenger

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MAY 26 1942

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAY 26 1942

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Bureau P.S.

10:25 PM

Per

INITIALS
DIRECTOR

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100-4712-374

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

MAY 27 1942

923 pm
1146 pm

b7c

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **CHICAGO**

FILE NO. **100-1957**

REPORT MADE AT SAN JUAN, PUERTO RICO	DATE WHEN MADE 5-21-42	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 5/13, 20/42	REPORT MADE BY [REDACTED] b7c
TITLE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE			CHARACTER OF CASE INTERNAL SECURITY-C

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: Investigation conducted San Juan Field Division indicates subject organization never active in this area.

REFERENCE: Bureau letter dated March 16, 1942.
Bureau radiogram to the San Juan Field Division dated May 11, 1942.

DETAILS: This investigation is predicated upon request set out in reference letter.

[REDACTED] advised that he has never heard of subject organization existing in Puerto Rico.

[REDACTED] advised that subject organization has never existed in Puerto Rico.

A check of the files of the San Juan Field Division fails to indicate that subject organization ever existed in this area.

[REDACTED] advised that he has never heard of subject organization in Puerto Rico.

- REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN -

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE **10-18-90** BY **SP-2 JSC/col**

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <i>[Signature]</i> 11 JUN 1942	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE <i>[Signature]</i>	DATE 10-4-71	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES 375
COPIES OF THIS REPORT 3-Bureau 2-Chicago 1-San Juan		MAY 26 1942 <div style="background-color: black; width: 100px; height: 40px; margin: 5px 0;"></div>	

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Section 552a

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☐ (b)(3)

☒ (b)(7)(C)

□ (k)(1)

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **CHICAGO, ILL.**

NH FILE NO. 100-1585

REPORT MADE AT NEW HAVEN, CONN.	DATE WHEN MADE 5/26/42	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 5/13, 14, 15, 19, 20, 21, 22, 25/42	REPORT MADE BY [REDACTED] b7c
TITLE 0 AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE			CHARACTER OF CASE INTERNAL SECURITY - G

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

In June of 1940 ROBERT DOUGLAS STUART, Jr., a student at Yale University, conducted a poll of the students at Yale regarding their feelings toward aid to the Allies. The poll showed a result of three to one against aid. The result was carried by Associated Press news dispatch. General Wood of Chicago, Ill. requested Stuart to come to Chicago for a conference which resulted in the formation of the America First Committee. Yale students were the first members of the nation wide group. There were five branch groups in the State of Connecticut, all of which have gone out of existence as such. All books of record of the Stamford branch were sent to Chicago where they were to be kept and be available for inspection by the Dies Committee or the FBI if they desired them. No foreign connections noted in Connecticut. Officers of the branches in Connecticut set out and information regarding them in New Haven file set out.

- RUC -

REFERENCE:

Bureau letter to all SACs dated 5/16/42.
Bureau teletype to all SACs dated 5/11/42.

DETAILS:

AT BRIDGEPORT, CONNECTICUT

In the New Haven file there is a letter dated 4/18/41 from [REDACTED] Fairfield, County at Bridgeport, Connecticut, requesting information for [REDACTED] of the City of Bridgeport. [REDACTED] had asked for information regarding this organization because [REDACTED]

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <i>[Signature]</i> SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES 100 - 4712 - 396 b7c
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LA 10-18-90 SP8BRL

he was thinking of joining the Committee.

[redacted] was contacted on 5/13/42 regarding subject organization and whether [redacted] had joined the organization, and if he had would it be advisable for the reporting agent to contact [redacted] stated that [redacted] had joined the organization and had been active in it during the time that it was operating in Bridgeport. He further stated that [redacted] was a very reliable man and that he could be contacted without any fear of exposure. [redacted] went on to state that [redacted] was a firm believer in the theories of Father Coughlin and that he was a subscriber of the paper "Social Justice". [redacted] went on to state that the America First Committee has gone out of existence in and around Bridgeport and that there is no mention of it at the present time.

[redacted] was contacted and he advised that he had been a member of the America First Committee of the Bridgeport group. He stated that Mrs. FRANCIS PHILLIPS was secretary of this group which included Norwalk, Fairfield, Bridgeport, and Stratford. He stated that there were, according to Mrs. Phillips, approximately 750 members of their organization. [redacted] claimed that the organization had gone out of existence at the time of Pearl Harbor and that there were no activities at the present time. He claimed that he saw nothing during his membership that would lead him to believe that it was un-American to the slightest extent. b7c b7d

He stated that they had attempted to keep the branch in Bridgeport open to all people; that they were not anti-Semitic in beliefs or actions. He stated that after Lindbergh gave his speech in which he attacked the Jews that interest in the group somewhat slackened in Bridgeport. He stated that they had been careful in the selection of membership in that they attempted to keep out of it members of foreign inspired groups. The Bridgeport group had held a number of rallies; at one of these the speaker was Norman Thomas, former candidate on the Socialist ticket for President. [redacted]

[redacted] went on to state that there were only five branch groups in the State of Connecticut: The Bridgeport Branch, the Stamford Branch, the Waterbury Branch, the New Haven Branch, and the Hartford Branch. He did not know what the total membership of these groups would be. He stated that Mr. HOWARD A. SMITH was President of the Bridgeport Branch. Mr. Smith is President of the La Resistia Corset Co. in Bridgeport. He stated that although Smith was President, the main part of the activities of the branch had been carried on by Mrs. Phillips who was very rabid in her opinions.

100-1585

[REDACTED] was contacted and he stated that to the best of his knowledge the America First Committee had gone out of existence upon the entrance of the United States into the War.

AT STAMFORD, CONNECTICUT:

[REDACTED] was contacted regarding the subject organization. He stated that this organization has gone out of existence in Stamford; that there was an organization there and that the leading men in this group were Dr. GREGORY WASON of Riverside, who was Chairman of the Stamford Branch; JAMES L. DASHIELL of Stamford, who was secretary, and REV. LLOYD F. WORLEY, also of Stamford, who was Treasurer. He advised that for more detailed information, [REDACTED] be contacted; that he was entirely reliable and dependable.

[REDACTED] was then contacted at his home at [REDACTED] and he stated that [REDACTED] which had been run on a voluntary basis with very little organization. He stated that they were having a meeting on the morning of Sunday, December 7, 1941, when the first word came through regarding the attack on Pearl Harbor. That night they held a meeting at which it was decided to disband the organization. He stated [REDACTED] received a telegram from JAMES L. FALLON of Chicago in which it was stated that all records, funds, etc. should be mailed to General Wood in Chicago. Fallon signed the telegram as being from the organization department, records to be mailed to General R. B. WOOD, C/o Mr. DUNDERSON, Department 176, Sears-Roebuck and Co., 925 South Homan Avenue, Chicago, Ill. He stated [REDACTED] mailed these records [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] He stated that his understanding was that the records were to be kept in Chicago and were to be available to representatives of the Dies Committee or to the FBI if they so desired.

He claimed they had nothing to hide in their records; that there were no foreign connections and no subversive activities. He stated that they had been very particular in the selection of membership to the Committee in Stamford and although Stamford is a community in which there are a large number of bund members that none of these were in the organization. He

100-1585

further stated that they did not have any Jewish members in the organization. During the conversation with [REDACTED] it was very apparent that he was against the Jews, in all his thoughts and opinions. He was always claiming that the Jews were the Communists in that area and that they did not want any of these in their organization.

[REDACTED] further stated that they did not have any connection with Father Coughlin or Social Justice; that they did not believe in his philosophy. At one of their meetings held in Stamford, members of the Social Justice from New York had come to this meeting and had attempted to give away and sell copies of this magazine at the door. He stated that he had spoken to the police at that time and had them removed, as this was against the City Ordinance to distribute papers on the sidewalk. He stated that they had also had a run-in once later with this New York group. b7c b7D

[REDACTED] stated that they had approximately 1,000 members in the Stamford Branch which included Stamford, Greenwich, and Norwalk, and the small communities in this vicinity. He stated that the reason for the organization ceased to exist at the time of Pearl Harbor and that the organization had gone out at that time. The Executive Committee of the Stamford Branch was composed of Mrs. E. M. HUNT, Stamford; Mrs. W. H. FAIR, Greenwich; Rev. HAROLD B. WILSON of Greenwich; Mrs. DANIEL GREGORY MASON, New Canaan; Mrs. HERBERT L. STONE, New Canaan; KENNETH HALSER, Darien; and Mrs. MILTON MACAULEY, Riverside.

[REDACTED] was re-contacted in regard to information supplied by [REDACTED] verified the information that they had been very careful in the membership of the committee; that they had not allowed members of the Bund or Jews to be members of the Committee. [REDACTED] further stated that all the members of the Executive Committee were very good Americans, reliable and dependable; that he did not believe that there were any foreign controlled groups connected with this organization; and that they have completely gone out of existence since the attack on Pearl Harbor.

AT NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT:

A search was made in the newspaper morgue of the New Haven Register and it was ascertained that the Chairman of this group was GUY H. LAGORE; that the sponsors were RICHARD M. BISSELL, Professor of Economics at Yale University; Professor FRED RODDILL of Yale Law School; Mr. YENDELL HENDERSON, retired Yale Professor; Rev. R. H. CLAPP, Pastor of the United Church; JAMES K. FLACK, and J. FREDERICK KELLY.

b2

Members of the Advisory Board were Mrs. EDWIN M. BORCHARD; EUGENE A. DAVIDSON; J. STEPHEN KNIGHT; Miss KATHERINE HOOKER; REV. C. LAWSON WILLARD; GORDON S. HAIGHT; DEANE KELLER; LYMAN SPITZER, Jr.; and ROBERT E. MONTGOMERY. There was also a newspaper clipping which stated that Mr. R. DOUGLAS STUART, Jr., had formulated the America First Committee and the Yale students were the first members of the now nation-wide organization. He had formulated this organization while a student at Yale in the Spring of 1940.

[REDACTED] was contacted regarding this organization and regarding ROBERT DOUGLAS STUART. [REDACTED] stated that Stuart had come out very much opposed to CHARLES SEYMOUR's (President of Yale University) proposal for all aid to the Allies. Mr. Stuart believed that President Seymour did not speak for the majority of the members of Yale University. He therefore decided to conduct a poll of the Yale University students regarding aid to the Allies. This poll was conducted during the month of June, 1940 and results showed three to one in Stuart's favor. After this poll there was a nation-wide coverage in the Associated Press news dispatches. b7c b7D

General Wood of Chicago then contacted Mr. Stuart and asked him to come to Chicago for a conference. The America First Committee was the result of this conference in Chicago. The Committee was then organized and Mr. Stuart was made National Director and Secretary.

Mr. Stuart is the son of ROBERT DOUGLAS STUART, Executive Vice President of the Quaker Oats Co. of Chicago. His home address is 141 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. Mr. Stuart holds a B.A. Degree from Princeton in 1937. He entered the Yale Law School in 1939 and left in 1940 to accept a position with the America First Committee at 1806 Board of Trade Building, Chicago, Ill.

[REDACTED] stated that he had discreetly contacted a number of the Deans and other members of the University faculty regarding the Committee and they stated that the Committee was completely dissolved with the entry of the United States into the War. Of the group of boys at the University who were more or less pushing the group a number of them are now in the military or naval service. He stated that this group were not pacifists but were more isolationists; although there were a few pacifists in the group. b7c b7D

[REDACTED] stated that Stuart had talked to him regarding the America First Committee and that Stuart felt that it was a personal calling for him to leave school and act as director for the organization. He made the request of the Law School in order that b7c b7D

100-1583

he could re-enter later. [REDACTED] further stated that after Pearl Harbor that Mr. Stuart had re-contacted him and had stated that the entire picture had been changed and that he now was determined to enter some branch of the military service. [REDACTED]

He stated that [REDACTED] and that he now understood that he was in some branch of the service. He stated that before Pearl Harbor Stuart was an out and out isolationist but that now he was 100% back of the Government efforts.

[REDACTED] was contacted and he advised that there are no activities of the America First Committee at the present time. He stated that they were active at one time but that all of the members were responsible citizens and he considered that they were entirely reliable Americans. He knew nothing derogatory regarding the organization. b7c b7d

AT WATERBURY, CONNECTICUT:

[REDACTED] was contacted and he stated that at the present time the America First Committee is not active in and around Waterbury. According to information that he had received the America First Committee was dissolved by orders of the National Branch about a week after the start of the War. He stated that the Chairman of the Committee was JOHN PESTA, employee of the Lux Clock Co.; FRED KRAZ, and E. JACKSON RYAN. He stated that this organization was in his opinion used somewhat by Ryan who was a candidate at that time for Congress on an anti-War platform. It was his opinion that Ryan was using it for his own purposes.

In the Waterbury Branch there were a number of Germans of pro-Nazi feelings who were members of the organization but he did not believe that it was foreign controlled or inspired. [REDACTED] did not advise contacting any of the former officers as he deemed it inadvisable. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] was contacted and he stated that the America First Committee was no longer in existence. He checked his records and found a clipping on 12/18/41 stating that the America First Committee was dissolving in the interests of national unity. The funds of the organization were being distributed among men of Waterbury in camps throughout the country. This dissolution was on the

order of General Wood of Chicago. He also had another clipping which was from the United Press Service in Chicago and was dated 12/12/41 which gave information that the organization was being dissolved but that they still believed in the principals that they had followed and that there would be no war if these principals had been followed, but that they were now 100% for victory.

The records [redacted] showed that JOHN FESTA, [redacted] was President or Chairman of the group. that he is a naturalized citizen of Italian descent. There was nothing in their records derogatory regarding him. Other members of the organization were LORETTA HESPELT, [redacted] Waterbury, who was Secretary, and Mr. E. JACKSON RYAN of Thomaston, Conn. Mr. Ryan has been active in political matters throughout the area. [redacted] also advised against contacting any of these officers.

[redacted] was contacted b7c b7d and he stated that the America First Committee was dissolved and was not at present holding meetings. He stated that Father J. F. DONNELLY had been connected with this committee. He stated that in the organization JOHN FESTA had been President and Father DONNELLY had been Vice President. He advised against contacting Father Donnelly as Father Donnelly is at present writing editorials for the Waterbury Democrat. His articles are somewhat critical of the Government and the war efforts. He stated, if an agent contacted him that it would be in the paper.

AT HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT:

[redacted] was contacted regarding the subject organization and he stated that they were not in existence at the present time and that during the time they were in existence that they had had no complaints against the organization. He stated that the members of the organization were very high type people; that they were all considered good citizens and subjects of the United States. He stated that [redacted] was one of the leading men in this committee. He advised against contacting [redacted]

[redacted] He stated that none of the members of the Committee could be said to be un-American. He stated that there were no outside connections to his knowledge.

[redacted] referred the writer to [redacted] who stated that he did not have very much information regarding subject organization. He stated that they were apparently OK, composed of good Americans, respectable citizens. He stated that for information regarding this organization to see [redacted]. He stated that [redacted] and at present is working with the Home Defense. He stated that [redacted] is entirely reliable and dependable and information that he would give would be right. b7c b7D

[redacted] was contacted and he stated that he had been opposed to this organization from its beginning. He stated that the organization was composed of all the Irish in and around Hartford; that they were anti-British, not pro-anything, merely against England. He stated that these folks were not foreign controlled or sponsored but were merely a group of what he believed were isolationist. There were a few pacifists in the group. He stated that there were a few German members of the group but they were not in a position to control the activities of the group. He stated that the head of the Hartford Branch was Mr. WILLIAM P. BISSELL of the Hartford Fire Insurance Co. of Hartford. He stated that there were a number of large rallies held in Hartford by this Committee but that there were no activities since the declaration of war. The list of officers and members as given [redacted] were:

WILLIAM T. BISSELL; Chairman, [redacted], West Hartford
 Executive Committee: GEORGE M. WHITNEY, [redacted], West Hartford
 J. GAYER DOMINICK, [redacted], Bloomfield
 BICE CLEMON, [redacted], West Hartford
 PAUL P. SWETT, Jr., [redacted], West Hartford
 DOUGLAS B. WRIGHT, [redacted], West Hartford
 A. HENRY MOSES, [redacted], Hartford
 GEORGE WALL, [redacted]
 KUZAK
 TIMOTHY W. GOODRICH II, [redacted], Bloomfield, Conn. b7c

He went on to state that all of these people were 100% Americans, nothing derogatory, with the exception of [redacted]
 [redacted]
 [redacted]

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100-1385

UNDEVELOPED LEADS:

THE CHICAGO FIELD DIVISION

AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Will attempt to determine if ROBERT DOUGLAS STUART has entered the military service as reported.

Will attempt to secure permission to examine records of organization by contacting [REDACTED] b7c

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **CHICAGO, ILLINOIS**

FILE NO. **100-922**

REPORT MADE AT OKLAHOMA CITY	DATE WHEN MADE 5-25-42	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 5-20-42	REPORT MADE BY b7c [REDACTED]
TITLE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE			CHARACTER OF CASE INTERNAL SECURITY - G

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

No indication that America First Committee presently active in Oklahoma. Additional background of MACK SCHRODES, who was chairman of America First Committee, Tulsa, Oklahoma, set forth herein.

-RUC-

REFERENCE: Bureau teletype dated May 11, 1942

DETAILS: At Tulsa, Oklahoma

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE **10-18-90** BY **SP8 BTJ/b7c b7D**

[REDACTED] advised that he has received no report that the America First Committee has been in operation in Tulsa since the war began and he believes that if there was any such activity on the part of the America First Committee, some of his contacts within the organization would have notified him.

At Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

[REDACTED] indirectly furnished information to this office to the effect that there is no longer any activity in the State of Oklahoma on the part of the America First Committee.

[REDACTED] advised Special Agent [REDACTED] that he has not received any indication that the America First Committee is still active in Oklahoma City and to the best of his knowledge the organization has disbanded.

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: [Signature] SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES 100-4712-377
COPIES OF THIS REPORT 5 Bureau 2 Chicago 10-2 Ft. San Houston, Texas 2 Oklahoma City	<div style="text-align: center;">MAY 27 1942</div> <div style="text-align: right;">RECORDED & INDEXED b7c EX</div>

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A news item appearing in the Tulsa Tribune, December 8, 1941, reflected that MACK SCHRODES, Chairman of the Tulsa Chapter of the America First Committee issued a statement to the press to the effect that there was no further use for the America First Committee unless they could help the country and expressed the opinion of being wholeheartedly for the war and that the committee must now switch to a policy of backing the government.

By letter dated April 1, 1942, the Bureau furnished a photostatic copy of a news item which appeared in the P.M. Daily, New York City, on March 24, 1942, which reflected that MACK SCHRODES had been active in meetings held in Tulsa, Oklahoma, for the purpose of demanding the stopping of strikes in industries which should be working twenty-four hours per day in making national defense materials and for the suspension of the forty-hour week.

At Tulsa, Oklahoma

b7c
b7d



MACK SCHRODES in a recent city election in April, 1942 at Tulsa, ran for water commissioner on the independent ticket.

REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO OFFICE OF ORIGIN

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

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Section 552Section 552a☐ (b)(1)☐ (b)(7)(A)☐ (d)(5)☒ (b)(2)☐ (b)(7)(B)☐ (j)(2)☐ (b)(3)☒ (b)(7)(C)☐ (k)(1)☒ (b)(7)(D)☐ (k)(2)☐ (b)(7)(E)☐ (k)(3)☐ (b)(7)(F)☐ (k)(4)☐ (b)(4)☐ (b)(8)☐ (k)(5)☐ (b)(5)☐ (b)(9)☐ (k)(6)☐ (b)(6)☐ (k)(7)

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100-4712-377 in p. 3

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

CASE ORIGINATED AT **CHICAGO**

921SS

FILE NO. **100-4250**

REPORT MADE AT ALBANY, NEW YORK	DATE WHEN MADE 5/26/42	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 5/14/16/19/42	REPORT MADE BY [REDACTED] b7c
TITLE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE			CHARACTER OF CASE INTERNAL SECURITY - G
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 10-29-90 BY SP8BJS/csl			

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: A review of the files of the Albany Field Division and contact of Confidential Informants fails to disclose any activity of America First Committee in the Albany Field Division.

RUC

REFERENCE:

Bureau letter to all SAC's, dated March 16, 1942; Bureau teletype to all SAC's, dated May 11, 1942.

DETAILS:

AT ALBANY, NEW YORK.

A review of the files of the Albany Field Division fail to reflect any activity on the part of the America First Committee in this territory other than the distribution of a pamphlet entitled "Convoy, A Funeral Train". The distribution was made in the city of Syracuse, April 29, 1941.

[REDACTED] whose identity is known to the Bureau, advised that the "America First Committee" had never been active in this territory. **[REDACTED]** advised that at one time, approximately one year ago, the America First Committee had endeavored to hold a meeting in the City of Albany, but that they had been unable to secure a place to hold this meeting, and had never been able to obtain enough followers to form any organization in this territory. **[REDACTED]** advised that to his knowledge the America First Committee had never been active in this territory. **[REDACTED]** advised that to his knowledge the America First Committee had never been active in this territory.

RUC

COPIES OF THIS REPORT - Bureau - Chicago - Albany	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE <i>[Signature]</i> DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES 100-4712-378 APR 25 1942 [REDACTED]	RECORDED INDEXED b7c
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**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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Section 552

Section 552a

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☐ (b)(7)(A)

☐ (d)(5)

☒ (b)(2)

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□ (j)(2)

☐ (b)(3)

☒ (b)(7)(C)

□ (k)(1)

☒ (b)(7)(D)

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☐ (k)(6)

☐ (b)(6)

□ (k)(7)

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100-4712-378 in p. 2

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Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.
May 26, 1942

100-6882

Director,
Federal Bureau of Investigation,
Washington, D. C.

Re: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE;
INTERNAL SECURITY - G

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to the report of Special Agent [redacted] dated May 26, 1942, at Washington, D. C.

JOHN ROY CARLSON, believed to be from New York City, author of an article entitled "Inside the America First Movement," published in American Mercury, 54:7-25, January, 1942, states that he has worked for three years as an under-cover man in the Nazi Fascist underworld of America; that he has been a card-bearing member of eleven pro-Fascist organizations, and has been friendly with leaders of subversive groups, such as FRITZ KUHN, head of the German-American Bund, JOSEPH McWILLIAMS, head of Christian Mobilizers, and JAMES TRUE. His article reflects that he maintains files containing considerable information about these various groups and also about the America First Committee and its subversive connections.

Very truly yours,

S. K. McKee
S. K. McKEE,
Special Agent in Charge

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-18-90 BY SP8 BTJ/CL



RECORDED
&
INDEXED

100-4712-379
1 MAY 27 1942
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Letter NYC cc Wash 6-10-42
COPY IN FILE

RECORDED

100-4712-379

June 10, 1942

b7c

Special Agent in Charge
New York, New York

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-18-90 BY SP8 BTJ/CSL

RE: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE;
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Dear Sir:

There are attached hereto copies of the report of
Special Agent [redacted] dated May 26, 1942, at Wash-
ington, D. C., and a letter of the same date emanating from
the Washington Field Office in the above-captioned matter.

It will be noted that [redacted]

[redacted] It will be noted
from the enclosed report that the [redacted]

Very truly yours,

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
Mr. Clegg _____
Mr. Glavin _____
Mr. Ladd _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tracy _____
Mr. Carson _____
Mr. Coffey _____
Mr. Hendon _____
Mr. Holloman _____
Mr. McGuire _____
Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
Mr. Nease _____
Miss Gandy _____

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enclosure

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
cc - Washington Field
MAILED 4
★ JUN 14 1942 P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

RECEIVED
JUN 10 1942
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

[Handwritten signature]

**Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice**

Washington, D. C.
May 26, 1942

██████████
100-5882

b7c

Director,
Federal Bureau of Investigation,
Washington, D. C.

Re: ⁰AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE;
INTERNAL SECURITY - G.

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to the report of Special Agent ██████████
dated May 26, 1942, at Washington, D. C.

b7c

It will be noted that the America First Committee local chapter in Washington, D. C., was formed and most of its activities were completely under the direction of Senators, Congressmen, their wives, and other prominent persons connected with the government in Washington, D. C.

No investigation is contemplated regarding these persons unless otherwise advised by the Bureau.

Very truly yours,

S. K. McKee
S. K. McKEE,
Special Agent in Charge

b7c

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9-46

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-18-90 BY SP9BJS/cal

EX-15

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1 JUN 5 - '42

100-4912-380	
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION	
3 MAY 27 1942	
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE	██████████

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DATE 10-18-90 BY SP8 BTJ/ccl

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CANCELLED

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

FILE NO. 100-687

REPORT MADE AT SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH	DATE WHEN MADE 5-25-42	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 5-22, 25-42	REPORT MADE BY [REDACTED] b7c [REDACTED]
TITLE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE			CHARACTER OF CASE INTERNAL SECURITY - G.

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

Subject organization believed to have totally disbanded since start of present war and is now inactive. No evidence that former leaders attempting to use structure of organization for any subversive purpose.

P.

REFERENCE:

Bureau letter dated 3-16-42.

DETAILS:

A review of the file in instant case reflects that information furnished the Salt Lake City Office from time to time together with newspaper clippings is that the original organizers and board of directors of instant organization in the Salt Lake City Field office were as follows:

Mrs. J. W. STALLINGS, [REDACTED] Salt Lake City, Utah.
 WALTER E. COSGRIFF, [REDACTED]
 [REDACTED] Salt Lake City.
 FRANK BOWMAN, [REDACTED]
 [REDACTED]
 MISS COLEMAN, [REDACTED]
 [REDACTED]
 MRS. MAE PIPE, [REDACTED] Salt Lake City, Utah.
 J. H. McNIGHT, [REDACTED] Salt Lake City.
 WILLIAM A. DAWSON, [REDACTED]
 residence Layton, Utah.

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <i>[Signature]</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES	
COPIES OF THIS REPORT 5 - Bureau (AMASD) 2 - Chicago (AMASD) 4 - Salt Lake City		100-4712-382 28 1942	RECORDED INDEXED b7c

STEPHAN TORNAY, [REDACTED]

W. E. DE WITT, [REDACTED]
Salt Lake City, Utah.

A review of the file in the Salt Lake City Field office reflects that a complaint received indicated that [REDACTED] at the University of Utah was pro-German in his sentiments, but investigation conducted [REDACTED] failed to substantiate this allegation.

The files of the Salt Lake City Field Office reflect that [REDACTED] is listed as being reported as being anti-English and anti-Semitic.

[REDACTED] on interview, advised that as far as he knew the America First Committee in Salt Lake City had folded up completely after the United States became involved in the present war, in accordance with the announced national policy of the organization and that no information had come to his attention reflecting that any of its leaders had indicated that they were not in sympathy with the United States in the present conflict.

In the presence of the writer, [REDACTED] contacted [REDACTED] who is very close to [REDACTED] in a business and discussed several other business and social matters over the telephone which [REDACTED] had in common with [REDACTED]

During the course of the interview or conversation, [REDACTED] asked [REDACTED] if subject organization had completely folded up or just what had happened to it, as nothing had been heard of its activities in recent months. [REDACTED] stated that [REDACTED] informed him that as far as he knew, and it was his honest belief, subject organization had discontinued its existence.

[REDACTED] advised that he is in position to make discreet inquiries of [REDACTED] and who would have first-hand knowledge as to whether or not [REDACTED] of that concern was presently involved in any activities related in any way to his former connection

with the America First Committee.

██████████ stated that ██████████ was no relation to ██████████ and that ██████████ was a thoroughly reliable and patriotic citizen. ██████████ advised that he could bring up subject organization in conversation with ██████████ without arousing any undue curiosity as to the reason of his inquiries.

██████████ advised that he was not familiar with the activities of the America First Committee other than what was generally known to the public; that the members of the America First Committee in Salt Lake City, Utah, were well aware of the antagonism which ██████████ had always held toward their organization, and that in his discussions with them heated arguments had always resulted.

██████████ stated that before the America First Committee was organized, Mrs. J. W. STALLINGS, WALTER COSGRIFF, and several others who were very isolationist in their views had asked him to speak before their organization which was called some patriotic name. ██████████ stated that after arriving at the meeting, he noticed from their conversations and through the talks previous to his that the organization was strongly isolationist and for that reason he did not deliver his prepared speech but lectured those present severely for their isolationist views.

██████████ stated that in view of the facts mentioned above he had never stayed on a very friendly relationship with any of the America First Committee members after they formed subject organization. He stated, however, that no word had come to him from any source since war was declared which would indicate that any of the former committee members were carrying on any type of activity. He stated, however, on second thought that someone, name not recalled, had recently informed him that ██████████ was affiliated with some type of organization. ██████████ was unable to recall whether the allegation included that ██████████ was affiliated with any organization having antagonism toward the Government's present war policy.

██████████ stated that he would endeavor to recall who had given him this information and what the information contained and would subsequently advise this office. He explained that he had not paid particular attention to the information given him relative to ██████████ at the time.

██████████ suggested that ██████████ be contacted, as ██████████ was well acquainted with Mrs. J. W. STALLINGS, who was probably the most active member of the America First Committee at the height of its activities.

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[redacted] upon interview, advised that he had never been intimately acquainted with Mrs. J. W. STALLINGS, but that he had been a life long acquaintance with [redacted], who was an active member of the America First Committee when that organization was functioning. He stated that he and [redacted] had on several separate occasions had heated arguments as a result of [redacted] extremely isolationist policies and her America First Committee activities. He stated, however, that these heated arguments had never interrupted their life long friendship or the business dealings which they occasionally had.

[redacted] stated that in one of his arguments with [redacted] Mrs. J. W. STALLINGS was present and she entered into the argument also, and that he, [redacted] also "told her off." [redacted] stated that he never at any time doubted the motives of [redacted] in belonging to the America First Committee. He stated that she came from an old pioneer Mormon family in Utah and he always considered her patriotism beyond question. He stated that [redacted] arranges various tours over the country and during the past year had arranged a tour through the office of [redacted] for a group of people going to [redacted] [redacted] mentioned to [redacted] that she was shocked and alarmed at the pro-Nazi sentiment indicated by a great many [redacted] people, as evidenced by the cheers in the moving picture theaters when HITLER'S picture was shown.

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During Agents conversation with [redacted] called the Informant on the telephone relative to a business transaction and in the presence of the writer [redacted] questioned her relative to the activities of the America First Committee.

On completion of the telephone call [redacted] stated that [redacted] advised him that subject Committee completely dissolved after the bombing of Pearl Harbor and that none of its members or officials had ever contacted her relative to using the organization for new activities whatsoever.

PENDING

UNDEVELOPED LEADS

THE SALT LAKE CITY FIELD DIVISION

AT SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH

Will again contact [REDACTED] to ascertain if he obtained anything of value from [REDACTED] which would indicate that [REDACTED] was using subject organization for any subversive activities.

Will contact [REDACTED] to ascertain if he can recall the information furnished him indicating that [REDACTED] might be linked up with some organization at the present time which may have a bearing in connection with instant case.

Will contact [REDACTED] Salt Lake City, Utah, if additional inquiries reflect that she is thoroughly reliable relative to the various Chapters and State-wide setup of the America First Committee and any possible activities which might be presently conducted in other localities in Utah other than Salt Lake City.

AT HENO, NEVADA

Through Confidential Informants and appropriate sources will ascertain if any individuals or groups may be using the America First Committee in a manner detrimental to the internal security of this country.

X	X	X	X	X
X	X	X	X	X
X	X	X	X	X

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Section 552

Section 552a

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☐ (k)(7)

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CONFIDENTIAL

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

This Case Originated At: CHICAGO

File No. 100-255

Report Made At: : Date When Made : Period for : Report Made By:
: : Which Made: :
Birmingham, Alabama : 5-27-42 : 5/12, 15, 26, :
: : 27/42. : b7c

Title : Character of Case
: :
O AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE : INTERNAL SECURITY - G
: :

SYNOPSIS of FACTS: (c)

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] WILLIAM H. WELLS, reported as-
sociated with CROWE but denied same publicly.
Office closed after brief existence. AUGUSTUS
E. LINDBERGH, cousin to CHARLES A. LINDBERGH,
made Alabama State Chairman of Fight for
Freedom, Inc., to combat public opinion created
by America First Committee. [REDACTED]
Birmingham, who paid for radio time to broad-
cast isolationist speeches of Senator WHEELER
and CHARLES A. LINDBERGH, disapproved of CROWE
personally and also stated he was not successful
in organizing Committee here. Attempt to
locate [REDACTED] unsuccessful. No record of
activity at Montgomery or Mobile, Alabama, but
Committee actively reported in Albany, Georgia.
Literature distributed by CROWE transmitted to
Bureau herewith.

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R-44

-P-

Approved and : Special Agent :
Forwarded : in Charge :

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2-Chicago 1-Atlanta (Inf)
2-Baltimore 2-Birmingham

100-4712-383

RECORDED

MAY 28 1942

&
INDEXED

JUN 13 1942

b7c

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

REFERENCE: Bureau letter to all field offices dated March 16, 1942.

DETAILS: AT BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA:

(c) [REDACTED] The following report was submitted by Confidential Informant whose identity is known to the Bureau:

[REDACTED] (c)

[REDACTED] (c)

[REDACTED] (c)

[REDACTED] (c)

There is a large quantity of leaflets and folders issued by the Committee [REDACTED] Enclosed you will find a copy of each. (c) u

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b7D

The leaflets and folders [REDACTED] are being transmitted herewith to the Bureau as enclosures.

A clipping from the Birmingham News, Birmingham, Alabama, dated June 25, 1941 contains the following information:

" LINDBERGH AND OTHERS MAY BE BROUGHT HERE BY COMMITTEE BRANCH

Headquarters Set Up In City For Campaign To Prevent Entry Into War

Col. CHARLES A. LINDBERGH and other America First Committee speakers may be brought to Birmingham in a non-war "blitz" to be launched in Alabama by a branch of the committee just established here under the directorship of C. C. CROWE, attorney, who said he had been designated state chairman for the anti-war group.

CROWE, formerly of Birmingham, who said he had lived recently in Indiana and Maryland, established committee headquarters in offices at 2006½ Fourth Avenue, North.

Among those associated with CROWE is WILLIAM H. WELLS, said to be a Canadian citizen, chiropractor and soldier of fortune. WELLS was said to have served in the World War, Spanish-American War, Boar War, and Boxer Rebellion.

CROWE, who said he served in the U. S. Army-Tank Corps during the World War, is mapping plans to conduct an Alabama drive against American intervention in the European conflict and said that various speakers would be heard in a series of radio talks aimed at preventing sending U. S. soldiers overseas again.

'There is no excuse for sending our boys to Europe or any foreign country again', said CROWE. 'It must not be permitted again.'

He said that the non-war drive, which would be directed at highly pro-British and Pro-Allies Alabama, would make a special appeal to mothers to help keep their sons at home and prevent them from being sent to foreign battlefields.

As for England, CROWE said he and his group favored aiding the British with war materials and supplies -- 'everything but men' and

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

'giving till it hurts' to help Britain win the war. But, he added, mothers and fathers must be convinced American boys must never again be sent to battle and die on foreign soil.

The committee's anti-war chairman for Alabama said a number of citizens in Birmingham and Alabama had already aligned themselves with the movement and that the non-war 'blitz', to be carried on principally by radio, soon would begin earnest.

CROWE said he and his group planned an early meeting in the new committee headquarters to map plans for the campaign in this state. "

The Birmingham Age-Herald, Birmingham, Alabama, for June 26, 1941 contained the following article:

"

LINDBERGH MAY COME

America First Committee Branch In State Plans Campaign

Plans set in motion by the newly organized Alabama branch of the America First Committee may bring CHARLES A. LINDBERGH to Birmingham to make a keynote speech in a state campaign backed by the anti-war group, said C. C. CROWE, attorney, state chairman.

CROWE, formerly of Birmingham and more recently of Indiana and Maryland, established committee headquarters at 2006½ Fourth Avenue, North. "

Again on July 7, 1941 the Birmingham News carried an article regarding subject organization which is being set out as follows:

"

WELLS NOT INVOLVED IN ANTI-WAR DRIVE

Declaring 'I have no use for anything that CHARLES LINDBERGH is messed up in,' WILLIAM H. WELLS, who gives his address as 405 Exchange Building, emphasized in a letter to The News Monday that he has no connection with the Alabama branch of the America First Committee, recently established here.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

When it was reported Col. LINDBERGH and other America First Committee speakers may be brought to Birmingham in a non-war 'blitz' to be launched in this state by the committee branch, WELLS was said to be associated with C. C. CROWE, attorney, who had been designated state chairman of the anti-war group.

'I am anxious to have a correction made in The News at an early date', wrote WELLS. 'I am not in any way connected with this America First Committee'. Wells went on to explain CROWE had sought to associate him in the movement as manager of an office, which had been opened at 2006 $\frac{1}{2}$ Fourth Avenue, North, but that he refused 'to have anything to do with it.'

Although born in Canada, WELLS said he had been an American citizen 30 years and declared 'I am 100 per cent for our president.'

Meantime, CROWE, a heavy set man of middle age, with short-cropped hair, went ahead with setting up the committee organization in Alabama. CROWE, formerly of Birmingham, said he had lived recently in Indiana and Maryland.

It is to be noted that the Birmingham Field Office received a copy of a Bureau letter dated March 7, 1942, the original of which was addressed to [REDACTED]

The following investigation was conducted by Special Agent [REDACTED]

On May 12, 1942 [REDACTED] was requested to search the newspaper morgue for any information pertaining to the formation and activities of the America First Committee. [REDACTED] searched the records of the morgue and the index to the editorial section of the [REDACTED] had ever had any publications concerning CHARLES C. CROWE, who opened headquarters for the America First Committee in Birmingham, Alabama. This search was also unproductive.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

AUGUSTUS F. LINDBERGH, cousin to CHARLES LINDBERGH, Frank Nelson Building, Birmingham, Alabama, was nominated as State Chairman of the Fight For Freedom Incorporated, which was organized to combat public opinion created by the America First Committee. The principles of this committee were diametrically opposed to those of the America First Committee. The America First Committee was strictly isolationist while the Fight For Freedom Incorporated advocated intervention.

Mr. LINDBERGH stated that the America First Committee was never very active in Birmingham, Alabama, and that he had no knowledge of an active membership list in the America First Committee. Mr. LINDBERGH said that the Fight For Freedom Incorporated was organized shortly after the America First Committee was formed in Chicago, Illinois. Mr. LINDBERGH said that to his knowledge, the America First Committee was extinct in Birmingham.

[REDACTED] records which reflected that during the month of February and March, 1941, [REDACTED] had paid for four fifteen minute transcriptions of speeches by Senator WHEELER and LINDBERGH and other prominent Isolationists. b7c b7d

[REDACTED] stated that he had been active in the Fight For Freedom Incorporated, and believed that the influence of this organization had permanently squelched any growth of the America First Committee in Birmingham, Alabama. [REDACTED] said that to his knowledge a CH RLES C. CROWE, Attorney, had opened offices for the America First Committee in Birmingham. [REDACTED] said that this organization had never grown to a large extent. He believed that efforts had been made to build up a substantial membership list but had been unsuccessful. [REDACTED] said that the America First Committee had been short-lived and to his knowledge was not now in existence. b7c b7d

[REDACTED] he had many contacts and believed that any activity or new growth on the part of the America First Committee would be immediately brought to his attention.

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[REDACTED] was interviewed on May 15, 1942. [REDACTED] said that she was interested in the principles of the America First Committee and upon its conception in Chicago, Illinois, she was desirous of becoming a member. She said that she wrote to headquarters in Chicago and became a member of that organization. A short time later, she said that she was surprised to learn that a local attorney, CHARLES C. CROWE, had opened headquarters for the America First Committee in Birmingham. [REDACTED] said that CROWE called her and requested that she take an active part in organizing this committee in Birmingham. [REDACTED] visited Mr. CROW and was displeased with the conditions prevailing in his office. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] said that after this experience, she refused to join Attorney CROWE in his efforts to promote the America First Committee in Birmingham. [REDACTED] stated that upon her own initiative she spent considerable time and money attempting to promote the principles of isolationism. She said that she had paid \$100 to station WBRC for radio time for transcriptions of speeches by various Isolationists. [REDACTED] said that much to her amazement, this money was returned to her by station WBRC. She believed that this money was returned because the Fight For Freedom Incorporated had received radio time free of charge. [REDACTED] was interrogated as to any knowledge on her part concerning a membership list of the America First Committee in Birmingham. She stated that period in which the America First Committee functioned as a going organization in Birmingham was quite short and it was her belief that Attorney CROWE had never been successful in organizing an active membership. b7c b7d

[REDACTED]

It will be noted that instant file reflects that Dr. WELLS was offered a co-leadership with CHARLES C. CROWE in the America First movement in Birmingham. Dr. WELLS refused this offer and publicly announced that he would have no connection whatsoever with Attorney CROWE.

United States Commissioner LOUISE O. CHARLTON advised that she was well informed concerning the Fight For Freedom Incorporated but as far as she knew the America First Committee had never taken hold in

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Birmingham. Mrs. CHARLTON said that the only recollection that she had of the America First Committee was that it was headed by a local attorney named CROWE and that he had opened an office on Fourth Avenue.

The following investigation was conducted by Special Agent [REDACTED] at Montgomery, Alabama. b7c

The following persons were contacted with respect to securing information concerning any activity of subject organization in and around Montgomery, Alabama with negative results:

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

WALTER BRAGG SMITH, U. S. Marshal, Montgomery, Alabama.

T. M. STOWERS, Assistant U. S. Attorney, Montgomery, Alabama.

On May 26, 1942, [REDACTED] Montgomery, Alabama, advised that a recent survey conducted by his organization at the Southeastern Air Corps Training Center, reflected that the nearest activity to Montgomery, Alabama, on the part of the America First Committee was reported from Albany, Georgia.

The following investigation was conducted by Special Agent [REDACTED] at Mobile, Alabama:

The following persons were contacted with respect to any activity on the part of the America First Committee in the vicinity of Mobile, Alabama, with negative results:

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] b7c
PERCY C. FOUNTAIN, Assistant U. S. Attorney, Mobile, Alabama.
[REDACTED]

ENCLOSURES: TO THE BUREAU:

One booklet entitled "OUR FOREIGN POLICY" by General ROBERT E. WOOD, published by the America First Committee.

One booklet entitled "ADDRESS" by HERBERT HOOVER.

One subscription blank for the A.F.C. Bulletin.

One pamphlet entitled "I HATE WAR", published by the America First Committee.

One leaflet entitled "WHY AMERICA CANNOT BE INVADDED" by Col. ROBERT R. MCCORMICK.

UNDEVELOPED LEADS

THE BIRMINGHAM FIELD DIVISION

AT BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA,

Will attempt to locate [REDACTED] and interview him with respect to subject organization.

THE INDIANAPOLIS FIELD DIVISION

AT INDIANAPOLIS, IND.,

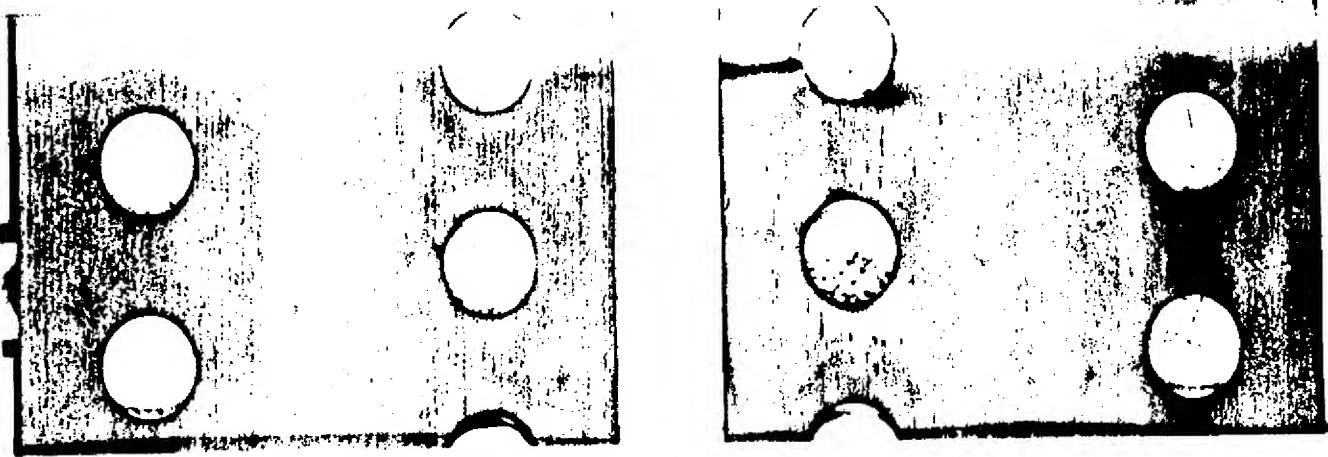
Will search the field division indices for any information concerning [REDACTED] b7c

THE BALTIMORE FIELD DIVISION,

AT BALTIMORE, MD.

Will search the field division indices for any information concerning [REDACTED]

P E N D I N G



Principles of The America First Committee

1. Our first duty is to keep America out of foreign wars. Our entry would only destroy democracy, not save it. "The path to war is a false path to freedom."
2. Not by acts of war abroad but by preserving and extending democracy at home can we aid democracy and freedom in other lands.
3. In 1917 we sent our American ships into the war zone and this led us to war. In 1941 we must keep our naval convoys and merchant vessels on this side of the Atlantic.
4. We must build a defense, for our own shores, so strong that no foreign power or combination of powers can invade our country, by sea, air or land.
5. Humanitarian aid is the duty of a strong, free country at peace. With proper safeguard for the distribution of supplies, we should feed and clothe the suffering and needy people of the democracies of Europe.

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
141 WEST JACKSON BOULEVARD
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Please enroll me as a member of
THE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

I am a patriotic American citizen, I am not affiliated in any way with any foreign power, I believe in the principles of the America First Committee:

Name.....

Address.....

City.....

I enclose \$..... to be used in furthering the cause for which the America First Committee is fighting.

(The America First Committee is supported entirely by voluntary contributions of time and money, but you need not contribute to become a member.)

Send or bring this card to
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, 141 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
2006 1/2 No. 4th Ave. Phone 4-4804
BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

"I HATE WAR"

Franklin Delano Roosevelt said
at Chautauqua, N. Y., August 14, 1936

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of the American People

HATE WAR

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
2006 1/2 No. 4th Ave. Phone 4-4804
BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

THESE ARE THE SOLEMN AND SACRED PLEDGES

Made by
THE PRESIDENT DURING THE 1940 ELECTION CAMPAIGN

We Will Not Participate Nor Intervene In Foreign Wars.

"We are arming ourselves not for any purpose of conflict or intervention in foreign disputes. I repeat again that I stand on the platform of our party; we will not participate in foreign wars and will not send our Army, Naval or Air Forces to fight in foreign lands outside of the Americas except in case of attack."

"It is for peace that I have labored; and it is for peace that I shall labor all the days of my life."

Philadelphia, Oct. 23, 1940.

The First Purpose of Our Foreign Policy Is to Keep Out of War.

"We look at the old world of Europe today. It is an ugly world, poisoned by hatred, and greed and fear. We can see what has been the inevitable consequence of that poison—it has been war.

"And we look at this country, built by generations of peaceable, friendly men and women who had in their hearts faith—faith that the good life can be obtained by those who work for it.

"We know that we are determined to defend our country and with our neighbors to defend this hemisphere. We are strong in our defense.

"The first purpose of our foreign policy is to keep our country out of war."

Your Boys Are Not Going to Be Sent Into Any Foreign Wars.

"And while I am talking to you, fathers and mothers, I give you one more assurance. I have said this before, but I shall say it again, and again, and again, your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars.

"They are going into training to form a force so strong that, by its very existence, it will keep the threat of war far away from our shores. Yes, the purpose of our defense is defense."

Boston, Oct. 30, 1940.

Ships Flying the American Flag Must Stay Out of the War Zones.

"In 1935 in the face of growing dangers throughout the world, your government undertook to eliminate the hazards which in the past had led to war. We made it clear that ships flying the American flag could not carry munitions to a belligerent; and that they must stay out of war zones."

New York City, Oct. 28, 1940.

I Am Fighting to Keep Out of Foreign Wars.

"I am fighting to keep this nation prosperous and at peace. I am fighting to keep our people out of foreign wars and to keep foreign conceptions of government out of our own United States."

Brooklyn, Nov. 1, 1940.

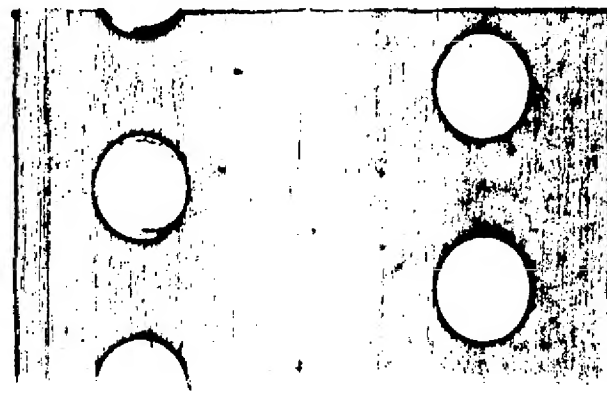
The
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
Leads the Fight to Keep
the United States Out of War

●
HELP US SAVE THE NATION
from
THE HORRORS OF WAR

●
DEMAND FAITHFUL FULFILLMENT
of the President's
SOLEMN and SACRED PROMISES

●
Write — Wire — Telephone
President Roosevelt
Your Senators
Your Congressmen

●
JOIN WITH US NOW
and
ENROLL YOUR NEIGHBORS
in the
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
141 West Jackson Boulevard
Chicago, Illinois



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Why America Cannot Be Invaded

*Statement of Col. Robert R. McCormick,
editor and publisher of the Chicago Tribune,
before the Committee on Foreign Relations
of the United States Senate,
February 5, 1941*

NOT BE INVADED

before the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States Senate, February 5, 1941

through the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea, protected by our West Indies possessions. Our pilots would be rested and our engines unworn.

I cannot conceive of anyone having the slightest fear of an attack along this line, if he has any respect at all for our own air force.

If it is imagined that this continent is to be invaded by water or by air, we must conclude the attack will come across the northern Atlantic. The route would be Iceland, eight hundred and fifty miles; Newfoundland, sixteen hundred and fifty miles more; and Canada, another eight hundred miles; total distance thirty-three hundred miles. Iceland is now held by Canadian troops, so the route is blocked at first base. If Iceland were lost, south Greenland and Labrador would be of no use to an invader, because of their rough character. On Newfoundland is a great Canadian-British air base, and our own soldiers have already landed on the island where Lord Baltimore settled before he went to Maryland.

Supplies would easily reach Newfoundland by the St. Lawrence, immune from interruption, while any assailant crossing the ocean would be subject to attack from the air, on the water, and from submarines.

It is an hysterical imagination which can conceive of our being driven from Newfoundland. Even if we were, the enemy would find no supplies in that barren land. There would be Cabot Strait to cross, and the Gut of Canso. Nova Scotia is a peninsula with a narrow neck, and New Brunswick largely forest and muskeg.

Can anyone dream of an enemy forcing his way through this country in face of one or two million trained American and Canadian troops?

In the Pacific we have our bases in the Aleutian Islands,

twenty-two hundred miles from Tokio; at Pearl Harbor, thirty-eight hundred miles from Tokio; and Samoa, four thousand miles from Tokio. If we need any other island bases, to protect our coast, we have the means of taking them and the knowledge that we will be welcomed by their inhabitants. Behind these outposts we have the Panama Canal, so that we can move our own fleet from ocean to ocean, which makes a one-ocean navy strategically equal to two navies denied the Panama Canal. It is fantastic to suggest that we are in any danger of attack.

Even if we did not have these overwhelming strategical advantages, this panic over possible German attack would not be justified.

We went overseas twenty-three years ago to attack the German army and were not overwhelmed.

Our victory, however, was won at bitter cost. The two divisions which were the most heavily engaged lost three men in killed, wounded, and broken by hardships for every man they contained on their mustering days. Many of these ruined men are still in the hospitals, or are suffering on their modest government compensation. Nobody ever gives a ball or a cocktail party for them.

There are young men of the same stripe today who, if forced to war abroad, will fight as the old army fought, and suffer as the old army is suffering. The experience of the Athenians at Syracuse, the Romans in Germany, Napoleon in Egypt, and the Russians in Manchuria, shows that the greatest catastrophes come to navies, armies and nations that embark on distant military adventures.

I pray to God that hysteria, propaganda and ambition will not become strong enough to immolate our present generation of young men.



WHY AMERICA CAN

Statement of Col. Robert R. McCormick, editor and publisher of the Chicago Tribune,

At the time I received Senator Johnson's invitation to appear before your honorable body, there had been some mention of the danger of attack on us through South America. I decided to accept the invitation because I happen to have personal knowledge of a considerable part of the ground over which such attack would come, and second-hand information of the most reliable kind about the rest of it. I have also traveled extensively in Eastern Canada, in Newfoundland and Labrador.

It is five hundred miles by map from the German frontier to the boundary between France and Spain. This country is well served with railroads and highroads, but, as we know, is pretty well exhausted of foodstuffs.

From the French-Spanish boundary to Cadiz is five hundred miles on the map, but because of the mountainous region, much farther by road. The roads and railroads were of poor quality when I was there, and are much worse since the Civil War. They would need much work to make them capable of carrying large numbers of troops, their equipment, and their supplies. Spain is now on the verge of starvation. Whatever the disposition of the government might be towards a German expedition across Spain, we know that the Spanish people is antagonistic towards foreign armies, and is stubborn and remorseless in guerrilla warfare. Spain broke Napoleon. Hitler might not wish to add her to his problems.

Northern Morocco and Algiers are very mountainous. During the Moroccan War, there were some primitive railroads, and the French were building macadamized highways for the use of the small armies employed against the Moors. There is a road twenty-five hundred miles across the desert as far as Bamako; and a jungle railroad eight hundred miles long to Dakar. No supplies of any kind can be found in the desert, of course.

To reach Dakar, therefore, an army would have to pass five hundred miles through France, five hundred miles through Spain, cross the Straits, and then travel three thousand three hundred miles through the mountains, desert, and jungle of equatorial Africa.

It is plain, therefore, that it will be utterly impracticable for Germany to concentrate a force of any size at Dakar. If we proceed on the assumption that only an air base is to be maintained at Dakar, still we have the great problem of supplying it either overland or by air transport.

If we pretend that this has been done, the Cape Verde Islands are only a few miles away. They belong to Portugal, and Great Britain has the right, by treaty, to use all Portuguese territory. It will be much easier to supply an air fleet at the Cape Verde Islands by sea than to supply one at Dakar by air or overland transportation from Germany. An air fleet based on Cape Verde Island should easily destroy one at Dakar.

If this form of defense should be neglected, it is still sixteen hundred and twenty miles from Dakar to Natal in South America. If an air force had advanced that far, it would now have a line of supplies five hundred miles through hostile France, on good roads, and five hundred miles through dangerous Spain, on poor roads; three thousand three hundred miles across the mountain desert and jungle of Africa; and then sixteen hundred and twenty miles by air across the Atlantic Ocean.

From Natal to Georgetown, our farthest southern flying base, is two thousand miles over the Brazilian equatorial jungle. To reach Georgetown, the German air force would have traveled over seventy-nine hundred miles to meet our own air force, amply supplied with its line of communication.



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ADDRESS

by

THE HONORABLE HERBERT HOOVER

New York
May 11, 1941

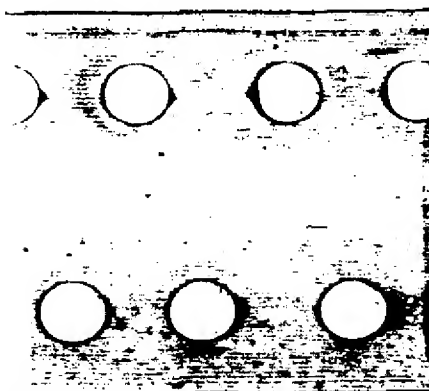
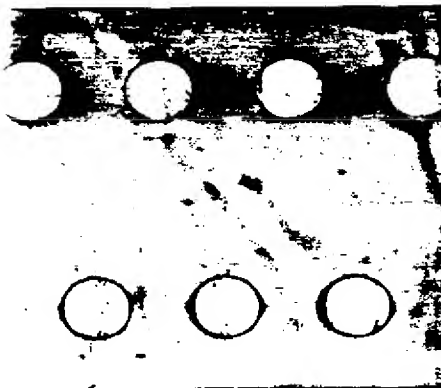
upon

THE IMMEDIATE RELATION
OF THE
UNITED STATES TO THIS WAR

FOR the last six months I have remained aside from the controversy on whether we should join in this war. I have been waiting to see the progress of our preparedness. I have wanted to see the situation abroad develop more fully. I had believed that the President was earnestly endeavoring to keep his promise to the American people of October 23rd:

"We will not participate in foreign wars and will not send our Army, Naval or air forces to fight in foreign lands outside of the Americas, except in case of attack."

IN THE past ten days we have had many speeches and much propaganda, the meaning of which is to drive the American people into this war. One who has been



honored by his country as a member of America's War Council in the last world war and as its Commander-in-Chief in subsequent troubled years must learn something of the principles of national defense and our setting in the world.

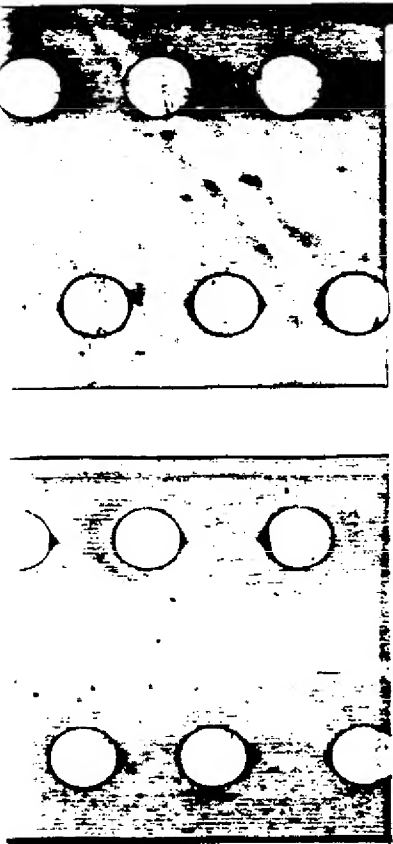
IT IS therefore my duty to speak out of my experience. I hope that by sober discussion of the facts, I may contribute something of thought in this most fateful decision. I am not speaking as the representative of any party, of any group and committee, or any association. And despite the depth of emotion that I feel, I hope I may speak without passion and with respect for the views of my many troubled fellow citizens.

I DO not need to express again my abhorrence of the whole totalitarian movement or its dangers to the world. That there be no misunderstanding, let me state at the outset that I support provision of the maximum tools of war to Britain; that I am convinced we can give this maximum during her next critical months only if we keep out of this war; that putting our navy into action is joining this war; that the whole European war situation is in transformation; that America is as yet unprepared even for adequate defense; that our people are not united. To go in now is neither wise nor for the interest of either Britain or ourselves.

AS I have listened to these recent speeches it has constantly recurred to my mind that the problem before Mr. Roosevelt is far more difficult and complex than many of these speakers imagined. In the anxiety and emotion of the moment many do not recognize the stern facts.

IT IS now proposed that we should put the American Navy into action. That is a straightforward, understandable proposal which boldly makes clear the meaning of words like convoys or patrols. That is joining in this war, once and for all. From here the steps would be automatic. Our Navy must attack German submarines, ships and planes, if it is to be of any use. To make it effective then we must expand naval and air bases abroad. We must equip these bases with expeditionary forces. And that is war for long years to come.

THERE are those who say we are already in this war. That is not true. We are in a position of risk. But war has not been declared between ourselves and the Axis. Diplomatic representatives are still maintained on both sides. Our treaties are still in force. There is no killing of men between us. If this war were ended tomorrow, it would not be necessary for us to make a new peace with Germany.



I AM not arguing the spirit of our relations with Germany. I am only discussing the situation which exists. But it is a certainty that we shall be at war the moment our Navy is put into action. We are in the war when we send our boys either by air or by sea or on expeditionary forces with an intent to shoot at the Germans. Let us not saddle ourselves by thinking otherwise.

IT WOULD be more consistent with American honesty and American courage for us to face the straight issue of a declaration of war by the Congress as the Constitution provides than to creep into an undeclared war. It is due our people that the Congress should vote on the real question which underlies all this: "Shall we declare war on Germany or Italy or Japan?" In a national debate on that issue the whole of the facts could be placed before the American people and the people could reflect their views to the Congress. That question once openly determined by the only open process democracy knows, then our people would accept that decision—whatever it might be. The full facts and the truth is the way to achieve national unity.

WE MUST face some hard facts. And there is among them, the transformation of the military and political situation abroad. There is our own unpreparedness. There is

the practical aid that Britain now requires and requires at once. There is the lack of unity of our people.

THIS is no time for wishful thinking. Upon our decision depends the fate of our nation. It is the time, of all times, for a sober and frank appraisal of new facts and new situations.

THE first hard fact is the transformation of the character of this war. No one can deny the grim possibility that Hitler may take Suez, Iraq, North Africa and the Mediterranean. This would not, however, cut the vital lifeline of Britain. It might even release that British fleet to protect their Atlantic lanes. In any event, Hitler can occupy all of Continental Europe.

AND from all this area he will get ample food supplies and vital raw materials for the German people. True, he is blockaded by the British fleet, but the blockade cannot starve the German people or cut off their vital raw material supplies. It is only the people in the occupied democracies who will starve. Having been disarmed to their very carving knives, they cannot revolt.

A SECOND phase of this transformation is that substantial army fighting seems likely to go into the background for many years. The British armies cannot invade

Hitler's Europe. Nor do I believe with all the 6,000,000 men that Hitler commands and his superior air force that he can now cross the Channel to England. To invade Hitler's Europe would require us to prepare 5,000,000 men in addition to the British army. This time to invade Germany we would need to land them quickly and that might take 40,000,000 tons of ships to carry our army over the Atlantic. And they might not be able to land even them. It would take ten years to build those ships. And Hitler could not start toward the United States without equal preparation.

THEREFORE, with this transformation it does not appear that this war can be brought to a conclusion by armies or navies for years and years to come.

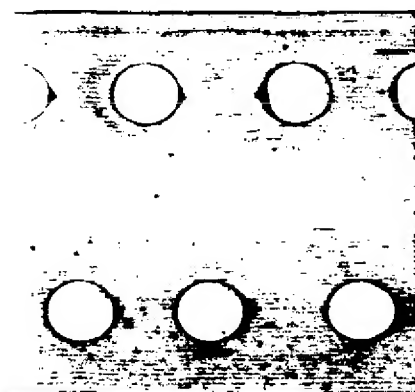
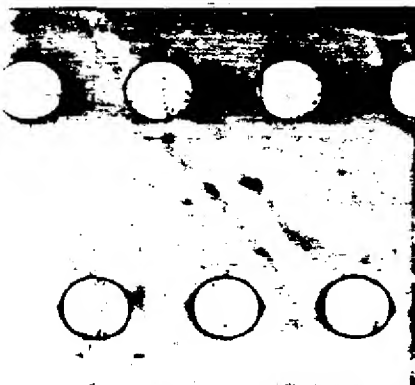
THE undetermined weapon against Hitler is air power. And the character of air war is also being transformed. It is rapidly emerging to be long-range bombing with fighter planes to defend against the bombers. Accurate action in destruction of industrial and military objectives by daylight is no longer possible because of the efficiency of fighter planes on both sides. Manufacture of more and more planes will thus continue on both sides. But so far there is no effective answer to night bombing. It serves mostly to destroy large objectives, the cities and har-

bors, reducing them to rubble and killing civilians. And in this destruction Hitler has to fly only one-third the distance that the British have to fly, to reach his point of attack.

AND there is a transformation in the German blockade of England. The long-range bomber is developing as a primary weapon in the attack upon harbors and upon ships. Submarines are today partly scouts, sending word to the air forces. Naval protection of Britain's sea lanes is now subsidiary to air protection.

THIS moving transformation of the relation of army power, sea power and air power presents new situations which are not yet clear. They involve many new considerations. They plainly indicate that America would be joined in a long, long war without a clear method of conclusion. And they emphasize England's immediate need which I will discuss later on.

THE second hard fact we must frankly face is that in the last war Japan was our ally and we had no need to defend the Pacific. But Japan is now openly allied to the Axis. She only awaits a favorable moment to realize her ambitions in Asia. That opportunity comes to her if we go to war in the Atlantic. Even if she does not open war



upon us, her action and attitudes will be so potentially dangerous to us that we must instantly divert our energies to strengthen our defenses in the Pacific.

THE third of these hard facts that we have to face is our unpreparedness. We have been slow to organize for defense, as is always the case in democracies.

WE ARE not prepared to go to war. Our industry will not be tuned up for another eight or ten months to produce enough of the tools of war to equip our own defense and at the same time supply the needs of Britain. We do not have 800,000 men who are sufficiently equipped with planes, tanks and guns to meet 300,000 Germans, to say nothing of victory over 5,000,000 of them. We will not even have 1,500,000 men so equipped for probably another 12 months. We have no substantial air force of the type now being used in this war. It is true we have a magnificent navy, but even that is not yet big enough for the job which it may have to undertake if we join in this war.

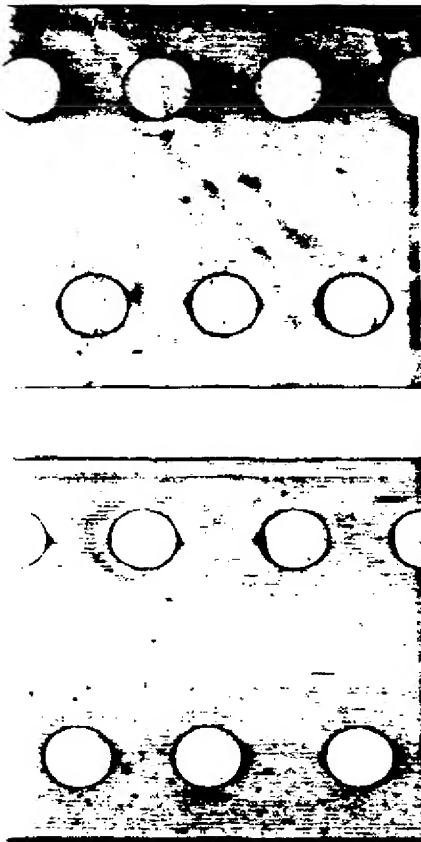
AND preparedness for war consists not alone of men and tools and munitions. It also embraces the spirit of a people. This war is a total war. That means every energy of a people must be mobilized. We must have a united people to make success-

ful total war. We are united in resolution to defend the Western Hemisphere from military aggression. We are united in building whatever of a war machine is necessary for this purpose. We are united in our condemnation of aggressor nations. We are united in wanting to help England defend her independence.

BUT beyond this we are a divided people. Do I need to prove this disunity? There is an obvious large majority of people who oppose the sending to foreign wars of our boys either on our Navy or on convoys or airplanes or expeditionary forces where they may have to shoot or be shot at. These oppositions are strongest in our youth and it is youth who must die. There is no unwillingness in them to die to defend our Hemisphere.

AND to have a united people the Government must be united with the will of the people. A divided people cannot act effectively in the supreme issue of total war. That failure in unity was part of the disaster of France. The first necessity is to follow an objective upon which our people will agree.

HISTORY will assess the condemnation or the praise for the policies and the methods which have brought us to these



dangers. That is not the question now. The question is what to do from here on.

OUR every sympathy, our interest is to assist the heroic defense of England. We have pledged ourselves to give Britain the aid of our factories and our farms.

HER most critical period is right now. It is during the next months. What is the urgent need of England as expressed by her leaders time and again? Plainly she needs bomber planes to guard her sea lanes. She needs bomber planes and fighter planes to offset the attacks upon her cities and her harbors. She needs tanks, munitions and food. She needs merchant ships to replace her losses. She needs minor naval warships to guard her sea lanes.

WE ARE today giving her only a part of the scant production of our industries and retaining the other part for our own preparedness.

IF WE join this war we must join in earnest. We shall lose it any other way. If we join we must at once increase our army to 3,000,000 or 5,000,000 men. We would have to use a larger part of our immediate manufactures to supply our own army. We would have to use a larger part of our air production to defend our own coast cities. We

would have to at once increase our protections for the Pacific Coast and our island possessions. We would have to use a larger part of our production of fighter and bomber planes for them. We would have to hold merchant ships in reserve to carry troops to protect them. We are not building enough merchant ships now to meet British needs. We would have to use our light naval craft to convoy and protect our own sea lanes, especially in the Pacific.

IN NET, if we join this war we must use a larger portion of our present scant production for our own equipment and defense. We would have to do this at once. And that means if we join in this war we must give Britain less tools of war during her most critical period.

IF we stay out of this war we can take more risks in parting with our tools of war.

THE British have said time and time again that if we give them the tools they have the man-power to repel invasion, they have the men to man the warships, the merchant ships, and the airplanes.

TODAY we are confronted with not one problem but many. What is the constructive American course amid these problems? Is it not clear that we will give less tools to Britain if we join in the war? The

solution is not for us to go to war but to give her every tool that will really aid her regardless of our own preparedness. There are risks in this course but it is the least perilous road we can now take. This solution will not please extremists on either side. Common sense and stark truth rarely do. But I am convinced that here lies the road to national unity that is so essential to America at this time.

WE MUST also think other things through. And there are some other very disagreeable questions that must be answered before we take the plunge to war. We cannot refuse to face the facts of the situation when the fate of the nation is at stake.

WE WISH to aid Britain, but we must face the fact that if she cannot maintain the independence of the British Isles with the tools and policies I have mentioned, it cannot be maintained by our joining in the war. If we are in the war and should Britain fall, we would be left to carry the war alone. And that war against Nazi-controlled Europe will have to be fought at a distance of 3,000 miles and for years and years.

IN THAT event, are we going to blockade Europe? If so, are we going to starve the 40 million people in Great Britain? And how will we bring such a war to a conclusion?

WHAT the course of the American people may be in this conflagration of the world cannot rightly be determined now. We cannot appraise all of the factors. At the present we cannot judge the effect of the transformation going on in this war. But there are some things we can state with assurance.

RIGHT now we need calm thinking. We need reason. We need tolerance. We need to approach these problems with deliberation. Until this picture is more clear it is folly to gamble with the fate of a nation. Strong men do not need to rush. We must not be swept off our feet by the profound depth of our emotions. By no hasty or emotional act must we jeopardize the aid to Britain and the future of America.

FINALLY we must not forget the price we shall have to pay if we join in this war.

IT MEANS the sacrifice of our most precious lives and the hopes of millions of mothers and wives. It means the sacrifice also of our own liberty to a dictatorship of our own, inevitable in total war.

IF WE go into war, we must pass through post-war bankruptcy. The savings of the people will be lost. The endowments of our universities, colleges, hospitals will be de-

stroyed. And when the day of transformation of war into peace comes the Government will not be able to support the unemployed and the farmers. In this gulf all major industry must be operated by the Government. When we go to the peace table, hate will again as before sit at that table endeavoring to destroy the hope of any real peace among men. Liberty will not recover on this Continent for a generation.

BUT if despite all this price we are compelled to act with our military power, let us be thoroughly prepared. Let us make our determination within the frame of our Constitution by the decision of Congress. And when that decision is made, there will be no dishonour in America.

THE Germans know all about our slow preparedness. They need have no momentary satisfaction in our unpreparedness. That will be forthcoming. The potential might of this nation is the strongest thing in this whole world. If necessary, we can raise and we can eventually equip an army of as many millions of men as we need. We can make more ingenious tools of war and we can operate them better than any nation in the world. That strength is always here in America. The defense of the United States is not dependent upon any other nation. America cannot be defeated.

Our Foreign Policy

by

GENERAL ROBERT E. WOOD
Acting National Chairman
America First Committee

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
2809 1/2 No. 6th Ave. Phone 4-4804
BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

Spoken before the Chicago Congress
on Foreign Relations

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AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
44 WEST JACKSON BOULEVARD
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

America First Committee Principles

1. The United States must build an impregnable defense for America. With such a defense no foreign power, or group of powers, can successfully attack us.
2. Americans should and do cherish the ideals of democracy and abhor dictatorship, but the welfare of one hundred thirty million Americans and the preservation of democracy on this continent demand that the United States keep out of foreign wars.
3. The cash and carry provisions of the existing Neutrality Act are essential to American peace and security. Within the limits of that Act, Americans may properly aid Great Britain. Aid to her beyond the limitations of the present Neutrality Act would weaken our defense at home, and might well involve us in conflict. We oppose any change in the law which would permit American vessels to enter the combat zone or which would permit the American Navy to convoy merchant ships through that zone, as any such course would inevitably plunge this country into Europe's war.
4. With proper safeguards for the distribution of supplies and the maintenance of our neutrality, Americans should, to the limit of their ability, give humanitarian aid to the suffering and needy people of England and the occupied countries.

Introducing General Wood

By Clay Jackson

Former President of the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations
We are at a crisis in our international relations. On the decisions now made by the people of this country and their leaders may depend our national welfare for generations to come.

At earlier meetings you have had presented to you dramatically, brilliantly, emotionally, the views of those who believe that the ideal of American life now demands a full participation in the war between England and Germany, and a willingness to take all the risks of war which that involves. Now there is another view, equally patriotic, equally above question from the standpoint of ideals—but diametrically opposed in its spiritual and its practical approach to the problem. This view sees America's destiny as the preservation of peace for its 135,000,000 people; the abstention on any account, and no matter how emotional the appeal, from European and Asiatic wars; the maintenance of the processes of democracy and of civilization.

Those who hold this view are certain that we cannot enforce democracy on the rest of the world by force and arms. They believe war will be ruinous to everything we cherish most, and they believe we can avoid war, and should make every effort to do so. This is the view of the man who addresses you today. He was born sixty-one years ago in the State of Missouri. Forty years ago he graduated from the United States Military Academy at West Point, New York. His first military service was in the Philippine Insurrection. As Chief Quartermaster at Panama during the days of the canal construction under General Goethals, he was charged with the duty of acquiring and officials in the canal zone. During the World War he had a major responsibility for supplying our entire military establishment. After the war, in civil life, his ability gave him immediate recognition in the commercial world, where he served for ten years as President of Sears, Roebuck & Company, and is now the Chairman of its Board of Directors.

For his outstanding services during the World War he was awarded the Distinguished Service Medal. He is a Commander of the British Order of St. Michael & St. George. He is a Knight of the French Legion of Honor. At present he is the Acting Chairman of the America First Committee.
I am honored in presenting to you General Robert E. Wood, who will speak on "Our Foreign Policy."

General Robert E. Wood's Speech

"Our Foreign Policy"

I hesitated to accept the invitation of my friends, Dr. Lichtheim and Mr. Utley, to address this gathering for two reasons—first, because I do not feel on a par as a speaker with the very eminent persons who have addressed these gatherings; second, because my views are opposed to those of a probable majority of my listeners—and I may add—opposed to those of some of my dearest friends and relatives. I have a brother-in-law on the William Allen White Committee.

But it is one of the beauties of a democracy that in time of peace, at least, men are free to express their opinions and honest men respect opposing opinions if those opinions are sincere and free of ulterior motive, and now is a time for all honest men to express their convictions.

The Hour of Decision

This country is on the eve of momentous decisions. The results of these decisions may be so far reaching that they may have an effect for good or bad on the life of this country for at least a generation. I am at the stage of life when I do not care as to the effect on myself or my own generation. I do greatly care what the effects will be on my children and grandchildren and their generation.

There are two schools of thought in this country on the subject of our foreign policy. They may be termed "interventionists" and "isolationists." These terms are not exactly descriptive, because all interventionists are not extreme interventionists and most isolationists are only isolationists as to Europe and Asia, but not isolationists as to the balance of North America and South America.

I except from my discussion those who have ulterior motives—anything except the welfare of our country. That would include the Communists who really desire to destroy our Government; the Nazis and members of the Bund who put the interests of Germany above those of this country; some ultra-pacifists who forget the interests of their country in their desire for peace at any price; a limited number of extreme Anglophiles who put the interests of Great Britain above those of their own country.

Our Common Ground

These schools of thought are in violent opposition, but there are certain points of agreement among all classes except perhaps what may be called the lunatic fringe of our population.

These points of agreement are:

First—The necessity for a strong defense—a strengthening of our army and navy and air force. Our people are practically unanimous on this subject—the only differences are on differences of detail. It is obvious that the richest nation of the world, in a world of force, must make itself impregnable.

Second—The belief that no foreign nation must obtain possession of any part of the two Americas and that the United States must be prepared to defend the North American continent, and at least that portion of the South American continent as far as the Equator. There is some difference of opinion as to whether military and naval protection should go as far as Cape Horn.

Third—Access to our great industrial plant by Great Britain within the limits of the neutrality law—that is, unlimited right of purchase by Great Britain of planes, tanks, munitions of war, raw materials from private manufacturers, provided she can pay for them and provide her own transportation. And this I may add is a very great aid.

Without this aid now being given, England could not long carry on the war, for her supplies of raw materials, her steel making capacity, munitions and plane plants are insufficient for a long major war. Without the production facilities of the United States she would be crushed. Theoretically, Germany is entitled to the same privilege—actually, on account of the British blockade, she cannot use our facilities, but she has no right to complain. I believe the overwhelming majority of the citizens are in accord with these three principles. I know I am.

Here Differences Begin

But it is when we get beyond the third point that opinion diverges sharply. The present administration in power, probably the majority of our editors and columnists, a very influential body of public opinion as represented by the Committee to Defend America by Aiding Britain is in favor of our government turning over some of our flying fortresses, more destroyers, more planes and merchant ships. Others, even more extreme, favor an outright alliance with Great Britain and a declaration of war on Germany.

Now what are the fundamental arguments for this point of view? They may be reduced to three principal reasons:

First—The totalitarian state with its ideology, with its record of persecution, is repugnant to our ideals and should be destroyed, even if we have to enter a war to accomplish this result.

Second—Our own protection depends on Britain as our first line of defense, and if she falls, we are exposed to the onslaught of a totalitarian combination. For as it follows that we must give England all the aid we can, even at the risk of entering the war.

Third—If Britain is defeated, it will be impossible for a free, competitive, unorganized and unmanaged industrial system to compete with a totalitarian system.

War Does Not Destroy Ideologies

As to the first reason, you cannot destroy an ideology by waging war on it. The conditions created in Europe by the Versailles Treaty were largely responsible for the rise of Hitler and the Nazi philosophy. The history of Europe for the last 100 years is a story of cruelties, persecutions, injustices. No government was more repugnant to our ideals and ideas than the old Czaristic regime of Russia—it had over many years a series of pogroms, but we remained on friendly terms with Russia. Up to 1917 we had always remained true to the principles of foreign policy laid down by the founders of our country: the policy of keeping aloof from the quarrels of Europe and Asia.

The Communistic regime of Russia under Lenin and Stalin was equally opposed to our principles and was detested by the majority of our people. Nevertheless, we have maintained our relations with Russia, and we have certainly had no idea of making war on that country.

Sentimentalists or Realists?

A nation cannot be a knight-errant. It must be realistic. Great Britain, during her entire history, has been coldly realistic, and her success in building up her Empire has been due to her realism. As individuals we can give vent to our generous impulses or even to our pet hates, but our statesmen, our editors, our moulders of public opinion must consider that it is not their individual fortunes and lives that are to be considered, but those of 130,000,000 of their fellow citizens.

Now as to the second reason—our military defenses in the event of a German victory. Our country has gone through a curious transformation of thought since May 10th. From an underestimate of the military and economic strength of Germany, it has gone to the opposite extreme of overestimating that strength. From some of the remarks heard on the Eastern seaboard in June, we would have thought that New York and Boston were in imminent danger of being bombed.

Bombings Alone Cannot Win

New the events in Spain, Poland, Belgium and France showed the major importance of the air arm when supported by tanks, infantry and a modern army. But Spain showed that bombing of cities, unsupported by an army, cannot win a war or even shake the morale of a population if the nation is of tough fibre like the Spanish and English peoples.

Apparently the Battle of England is demonstrating the same principle. Unless an army can cross the Channel, the German air force cannot impose a decision on England. Casualties and material damage—yes. The 15,000 casualties in London so far are but a drop in the bucket for a nation of 46,000,000 people; more casualties were incurred in single days at the Verdun, Ypres and Somme offensives. The destruction of apartment houses, stores, public buildings do not constitute a blow to the military strength of a nation. If the docks, railroads, power plants and munitions plants are put out of commission, it does affect the military effort, but unless it is done on a gigantic scale the nation cannot be subdued, and all evidence is to the effect that military damage thus far has not been of such a serious character as to severely impair the island's defense.

Can England Be Invaded?

As for an invasion, at the great risk of being called a false prophet, I doubt whether any invasion will ever be made, and if it is attempted, it will be decisively repulsed. To land 250,000 Germans in England, with mechanized equipment, ammunition and necessary supplies, would be a gigantic operation. Once landed, that force would have to face 1,500,000 Englishmen under arms, fighting on their own island behind strong defenses. And to land these 250,000 Germans means practically complete mastery of the air, blocking off the English coast, complete control of the Channel—none of which objectives have yet been attained after more than a month of intensive

effort. To sum up, I doubt whether the island can be conquered, and I am quite sure the British fleet cannot be put out of commission.

Now we come to our own danger of invasion and the perfectly fantastic hysteria that pervaded this country after the battle of France. I think any competent military or naval expert, certainly the vast majority, will tell you that there is absolutely no danger of an invasion of the United States even if Germany is completely victorious, and I doubt whether she will be. The amount of shipping required for the transportation of even 250,000 men of a modern mechanized army with their ammunition and supplies over 3,000 miles of ocean is colossal and it is to be presumed that our own navy and air force will not be idle.

No Army Can Attack Us

If it is impracticable or at least exceedingly difficult for an army to cross 25 miles of Channel, what valid grounds are there for supposing that a large army can cross 3,000 miles of ocean to invade a continent? Some will inquire—why should it not be possible for Germany to seize bases in Mexico or Central America and attack from those countries. Again, that presupposes an overwhelming sea power. But even if that sea power were present, there would again be the same difficulties of a 3,000 mile long line of communication for an invading army. And an army once landed must cross an exceedingly difficult terrain before ever arriving at the Texas border. I think that hypothesis may be safely dismissed.

Panic First—Then War!

Now we come to the favorite bogey—air attacks. I quote from Major Al Williams' recent speech, reprinted in the Congressional Record—"Oceans and extended lines of communications are still vital factors in modern warfare. President Roosevelt's pen-hazy flight schedule for the air invasion of America is ridiculous, worthy of Hollywood and certainly not of the White House. To support my argument against the President's wild flight schedule for a foreign air invasion of the United States I offer a single incontestable reason. With all their air power the Germans could not attack and subdue England from air bases 500 to 500 miles distant. Instead they seized air bases on the north coast of Holland, Belgium and France 25 to 100 miles distant from the coast of England. Each and every stage of

the fantastic itinerary for the air invasion of America would have to be conquered for the establishment of major air bases for the enemy attempting the job. The President must know this—but apparently the pattern is panic first, and then war."

An Exhausted Germany Is Harmless

All of this presupposes a completely victorious Germany, ready at the end of a long and costly struggle, to immediately embark on a new and perilous adventure across 3,000 miles of ocean against a nation of 130,000,000 people. The present war represents seven years of preparation on the part of Germany. So-called total war represents a prodigious expenditure of labor, money and effort. Steel is rapidly consumed, aircraft and mechanical equipment are rapidly worn out, reserves of all kinds are exhausted, not to mention the wear and tear on human beings. A nation that for seven years has been given guns instead of butter is apt at the end of this war to demand more butter from its leaders.

So on every count it seems inconceivable to me that Germany at the end of the war, even if aided by its allies, who will be in a worse condition of exhaustion than Germany itself, will attack the United States. And if this country with its 130,000,000 people and its two great natural ocean barriers cannot defend itself unaided by Britain or anybody else, it does not deserve to survive. The great nation that has to trust to others for its defense is on the downward path to destruction.

Europe Must Have Our Goods

Now as to our economic problems. An economic war after the war—the loss of our European, Asiatic and South American trade. I have a high personal regard for Walter Lippmann's brains and ability, but I believe his picture of an unequal contest between a totalitarian economy and a free economy is misleading. After all, when two nations or two continents each have things the other needs trade eventually results regardless of the feelings each may have for the other. Europe needs us more than we need Europe—our materials and products are more important to her than hers to us. True, Germany has reduced largely its purchases from us, but more from necessity than choice. As far as South America is concerned, we can always obtain the lion's share of the trade of Mexico, Central America, Colombia and Venezuela because we buy the metals of Mexico, the coffee and bananas of Central America and Co-

Isuzu, the oil of Venezuela. In these countries, our geographical location must always give us the edge. We can take the coffee of Brazil but not its cotton; so its trade will naturally divide between Europe and the United States. It is in Argentina and Chile that our troubles come. We cannot take the meat, cotton and wool of the Argentine because we produce these products ourselves. The same applies to the copper and nitrates of Chile. We cannot sell unless we buy and that is a far greater obstacle than all Mendon.

It must not be forgotten that Germany put on an intensive drive for trade in South America in the period 1936-1938, and if my recollection of the figures is correct, while Germany's percentage of the trade gained somewhat, the gain was not large, and it was largely at the expense of Great Britain; our trade declined only a fraction of one per cent.

We'll Get Our Share of Foreign Trade!

No man can foretell the future, but as long as we have products South America can use and above all, if they have products we can use, we will get our full share of the trade. As for Asia, the same remarks pertain as to Europe. Japan needs as far more than we need her. Our trade with Japan incidentally runs between five and six times the trade of China, whom we are making such great efforts to help. Even if Japan gets control of the Dutch East Indies—and that is not assured—she is going to be more anxious to sell us rubber and tin to obtain dollar exchange than we are to buy the products. And if war with Japan comes, we can get Bolivian tin and develop our synthetic rubber. We are certainly as resourceful as the Germans who are filling 90% of their rubber requirements with the synthetic article.

In 1937 Colombia's trade with us was 168,000,000 pesos, with Germany 46,000,000. Of Venezuela's trade, the United States took 12.5% of their imports and furnished 53% of the exports, Germany 13.8%. Of Costa Rica's imports, 42.5% came from the United States, 22% from Germany. Of her exports 45% went to the United States and 13.5% to Germany.

As for lack of organization, if needs be, we can meet fire with fire; we can set up export cartels and meet purchasing organizations and we can do this without danger to our system.

The Americas Must Stand Together!

Americans like myself feel that our true mission is in North America and South America. We stand today in an unrivalled position. With our resources and organizing ability we can develop, with our Canadian friends, an only partially developed continent like North America and a virgin continent like South America. The reorganization and proper development of Mexico alone would afford an outlet for our capital and energies for some time to come. And while I think we should try in every way to maintain the friendship of our neighbors to the South, I think we should also make it clearly understood that no government in Mexico, Central America and the Caribbean South American countries can be tolerated unless it is friendly to the United States and that we will make every effort to prevent the spread of totalitarian influence there.

Instead of what seems to be a sane objective we are on the verge of throwing our treasure and our blood into a European war, with consequences that no one can foretell.

I respect the honest views of honest Americans, no matter how opposed they may be to my own, but there are two matters that I resent: First is the attempt to smear any one opposed to what I might call the majority publicized viewpoint of what we should do in this war. When the editor of a New York "newspaper" denounces Col. Lindbergh as the head of the Fifth Column in the U. S., we have reached the summit of mud slinging. You may disagree violently with Col. Lindbergh, you may feel he has made serious mistakes, but you have no right as a traitor merely because he disagrees with your views. This is as bad as the Nazis, an attempt to suppress freedom of speech.

The other point I resent is the way the issue is being presented to the American people. We are being edged into the war without the masses' knowledge. We have the anomalous situation of the polls showing a majority of the people favoring a course that is bound to get us into the war, while the same polls show 85% of the same people oppose actual entry into the war. That shows that the minds of the people are confused.

How Wars Are Sold to Us

Many of my hearers were adults at the time of the previous war and were familiar with the propaganda that led up to that war. If you want to know the

history of that propaganda and its falsity, read a book by Sir Philip Gibbs with the title of "Now It Can Be Told," in which he admitted the outrageous lies that were perpetrated on the American public. And Sir Philip Gibbs was no German but the leading English war correspondent, knighted by his King. The London Economist in a recent issue said it was only a question of time until American public opinion could be brought to the point where we would actively enter the war.

I believe a majority of the people who are advocating "aid short of war" do not desire us to enter the war. But there are others who do desire us to enter the war, who are taking the necessary steps to prepare the American people for active participation, who would enter it tomorrow if they dared, who are today in practical alliance with England, and unfortunately they are the people who are shaping our national policy today. You hear in Washington predictions from men, and men who ought to know, that we will actively enter the war within sixty days after the election.

The American people should think this matter through. The course we are pursuing is bound to involve us in the war. You cannot play with fire and not get burned. You cannot have your government, not private manufacturers, transfer its equipment to foreign powers, you cannot have your government in an unofficial alliance with a foreign power, you cannot be a meddler in Indo-China, berate Italy and Germany without eventually involving the nation in war, and if war comes I venture to predict that we will repeat the history of the last war. When the declaration of war was made in 1917 originally it was intended to send only the Navy to the assistance of the Allies.

Man-Power, Too!

Joffre came over in the spring of 1917, told the plight of the French Army after the 1917 spring Champagne offensive, where whole divisions of the French Army mutinied, and implored us to send over a token force, otherwise France would collapse. We sent Pershing and the First Division, about 30,000 men. Then came the impending collapse of Russia, frantic calls for more men, then the great German offensive of 1918 and the rest of the British Fifth Army, more frantic appeals, until finally we put under arms 4,000,000 men, sent 2,000,000 men

to France, spent 20 billion dollars and had 150,000 casualties. I need not refer to our treatment by our former allies after the Armistice. They took the loot, we did not even get thanks.

I do not often agree with the editorials on foreign policy in my friend Frank Knox's paper, but there is a recent editorial with which I am in 100% agreement. The editorial quoted two recent speeches by both Presidential candidates in which both pledged themselves never to send American boys to France. The editorial spoke of both these pledges as political bunk and very truly stated that if we entered the war we would enter it to win, and if necessary to win, we would send an expeditionary force—and that is the absolute truth.

The People Must Know the Truth

The issue should be honestly presented to the people. If we aid Britain, short of war and beyond the limits of the Neutrality Act, it ultimately means war and should mean war. If we enter the war, we must enter it with all our strength in men and money. That is the only way to win a war.

If the military reports from abroad are correct, I feel there is no doubt that Great Britain can defend her island, her dominions like Canada, Australia and New Zealand. She may lose Egypt, the Suez and Gibraltar, though this is extremely doubtful. So far the Italians have shown no signs of real offensive strength. There is little doubt that England can make a negotiated peace by which she can keep her fleet and her colonies, but which will leave Germany the economic control of Western Europe. But she cannot decisively defeat Germany unaided. Her statesmen privately admit that, and say that for her to gain a decisive victory we will have to actively enter the war. One of the great mistakes made by the Allies in this war was that in its first six months they thought they could win a safe economical war, with France sitting behind the Maginot line and England maintaining its blockade, with little expenditure of blood and a minimum expenditure of treasure. For us to actively enter the war means ships, planes, money, men, expeditionary forces. That is the issue that must ultimately be presented to the American people, and it should be presented openly, honestly and squarely.

Our Own Democracy Will Be Sacrificed

In deciding this issue, the American people should face the costs. We start with a debt of \$50,000,000,000. With the enormous cost of waging modern war, the cost of sending forces over 2,000 miles of ocean, of engaging our navy in the Far East, we would ultimately face a debt of from 100 to 150 billions. Victory or defeat, we will be faced at the conclusion of such a war with great economic dislocations—the rich would face a capital levy, the middle classes impoverishment, and the masses a lowered standard of living and the loss of most of the social gains so far secured.

Competent observers believe that if the war is prolonged in Europe over one or two years, it will result in Communism in all Europe, and a species of National Socialism in England. If we are involved, it probably spells the end of capitalism all over the world.

Defend America First, Last, Always

I would unhesitatingly say to throw everything we have into a war to defend the United States or our own sphere of influence, which is the North American continent and part, if not all, of the South American continent. I do not think the American people should make these sacrifices to interfere in the quarrels of Europe and Asia, old, sick and overpopulated continents with ancient rivalries that cannot be healed. It is up to the American people to decide whether they want to make these sacrifices to preserve not England but the British Empire, and help regulate Europe and Asia. But they should make the decision with all the cards on the table, not misled by artifice and subterfuge.

But if that decision is given affirmatively, I think you will find Americans like myself, who sincerely believe such a course spells disaster to the nation, will be at their posts of duty in the service of this country. I am old fashioned enough to believe in the toast offered by Stephen Decatur back in 1816, "Our Country! In her intercourse with foreign nations, may she always be in the right; but Our Country, right or wrong."

Additional copies of this speech can be obtained from America First Committee, 141 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

Membership and Contribution Blank

I am a patriotic American citizen and agree with the principles of the America First Committee.
Enroll me as a member.

Name _____

Address _____

I contribute \$_____ to the work of the Committee.
(You do not need to contribute to join the America First Committee.)

Send this application to

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

141 West Jackson Boulevard

Chicago, Illinois

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

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FILE NO. 100-6882

REPORT MADE AT WASHINGTON, D. C.	DATE WHEN MADE 5/26/42	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 3/18, 19, 20, 23; 5/16, 18-22/42	REPORT MADE BY b7c
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SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

America First name first used by JAMES TRUE Associates in 1934, Washington, D. C. TRUE allegedly pro-Nazi propagandist. America First Committee proper originated by R. DOUGLAS STUART, JR. in spring of 1940 on Yale University campus. Developed through political backing to reported 15 million followers. "No Foreign Wars Committee," directed by isolationist VERNE MARSHALL and set up to counteract criticism of America First in early stages, extinct by March, 1941. America First financed by contribution; reported to have been supported by Fascist groups, German-American Bund, Christian Front, and Silver Shirts. Nazi sympathizers reported active in America First set out. Committee planned new political party to be known as American Party. Local chapter, preceded by peace meetings, officially formed December 11, 1940, at home of WILLIAM R. CASTLE, former Under-Secretary of State. Five prominent Washington women appointed to direct. Activities set out. Names of America First Committee chairmen from other localities set out. Local persons active in America First and related movements alleged to be presently engaged in subversive activities set out. History of America First Committee being prepared in Chicago where organizational files were transferred to storage office of Sears Roebuck and Company. America First and related literature being forwarded to Bureau.

AGENCY/CC - CNT
REQ. REC'D 9-23-53
REP'T FORW. 10-7-53
BY JEF - JFH

ENCLOSURE
MAY 27 1942

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DETAILS: At Washington, D. C.

[redacted] stated that the America First Committee was eight years in the making, the name having originated in 1934, with America First, Inc. Headquarters of this organization were in the National Press Building, Washington, D. C., with JAMES TRUE as director. b2 b7

[redacted] made available a copy of a letter dated September 17, 1934, from America First, Inc., JAMES TRUE, President, charging many of the men in charge of various government departments were at that time or had been affiliated with Socialistic or Communistic movements, and that the subversive front organizations were destroying the democratic form of government in the United States.

It was learned from [redacted] that most of the Bund and similar organizations were pinched down in 1940 and early 1941 and went out of existence. Periodicals changed their names, and open Nazism became camouflaged into American Fascism. [redacted] related that the turning point came with the emergence of the American First Committee under totally respectable direction. Concerning the founding of the America First Committee proper, he stated that a group of twenty students on the Yale University campus were organized early in 1940 by 24-year old law student R. DOUGLAS STUART, JR., son of the First Vice President of Quaker Oats Company. This group attracted the attention of CHESTER BOWLES of Benton and Bowles, Inc., import advertising agency, then WILLIAM R. CASTLE, Washington, D. C., former Under-Secretary of State, and former Ambassador to Japan. Many other influential persons began to join the circle, including PHILIP LAFOLLETTE, ex-Governor of Wisconsin, Senator BURTON K. WHEELER of Montana, and General ROBERT E. WOOD.

Using this Yale group as a front, [redacted] stated that the political minds invited CHARLES A. LINDBERGH, who on October 30, 1940, prophesied victory of the totalitarian powers. After this, General WOOD, who was considered second only in command under PERSHING in the last war, took active charge. The Committee set out to organize the nation through the mails and issued its first official notice on November 11, 1940. The America First Committee was criticized because of a Jewish individual on the National Board of the Committee, and [redacted] related that the "No Foreign Wars Committee" was organized with VERNE MARSHALL, Editor of the Cedar Rapids (Iowa) Gazette, as leader to remedy the situation. His mission as chairman, to which he was persuaded to act by LINDBERGH, was to whip up the emotions of the extremist groups, mobilizing them under a single leadership. According to [redacted] MARSHALL spotlighted the national attention on the isolationist issue and did so well that he put his committee on a parallel with the America First Committee and endangered its existence. [redacted] related that LINDBERGH denounced MARSHALL as an anti-Semite and that after three months of barnstorming, MARSHALL was persuaded to quit. He stated that the literature whi

was requested before the committee folded up contained standard material distributed at Bund and Christian Front meetings. The No Foreign Wars Committee was virtually extinct by March, 1941, and the America First Committee is reported to have been sole heir to all of its mailing and membership lists, which included the names of sincere isolationists, sundry appeasers, and pro-Nazi sympathizers.

[redacted] related that in making application for membership in the America First Committee, he wrote down his affiliations with pro-Nazi and other subversive organizations to see what would be the reaction, and stated that they just smiled and nodded. He related that the America First Committee was not merely an isolationist organization, but also the spearhead of an American Fascist movement, and stated that it was headed for a totalitarian movement, which may not flower for many years. He stated that America First was too deeply polluted by the Fascist crowd for redemption, and related that a political movement was being crystallized out of the America First organization.

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b7D
[redacted] related that the honest isolationists were outnumbered by the anti-administration businessmen and industrialists with an overwhelming following of appeasers, Nazis, Fascists, and other enemies of a democratic way of life. He stated that the Committee aimed to use the war and its aftermath as an opportunity for totalitarian anti-democratic revolution. He stated that nearly all Fascist or near Fascist groups in the United States gave support openly or secretly to the America First, and that the Bund, Christian Front, and Silver Shirts maintained separate existence, but devoted their best energies to the America First movement. He stated that it was a mass movement meshed with a great many other groups; that it claimed to have 15 million signed members with many outstanding figures included; and that more than one hundred representatives and thirty-one senators were known to be in sympathy openly or clandestinely with the America First movement.

[redacted] stated that JOHN T. FLYNN, Chairman of the New York City chapter, tried to weed out the Fascist element and denounced JOSEPH McWILLIAMS leader of Christian Mobilizers, and also support from the Bund. In doing so, he made many enemies. He stated that the Nazi propaganda technique and America First methods were very similar.

[redacted] referred to a report of the Americanism Committee of the American Legion of Los Angeles, which related how the Bund went underground and Bundists swung into America First efforts. This report reflected the names of various pro-Nazi and pro-Fascist sympathizers who were closely associated with America First in Los Angeles. Their names and associations with America First are as follows:

F. K. FERENZ, distributor of subversive books, exhibitor of Nazi films, and publisher of a swastika decorated volume of essays entitled "Hitler," attended 21 America First meetings between March and August, 1941.

JOHN L. RIEMER, who testified that "a German Consulate had paid \$215 for printing part of the literature he had been sending from Los Angeles," extensively advertized America First in connection with his mailing of Nazi propaganda.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN BULLARD, organizer of the "American Guards" which sponsored Hitler-styled abolition of labor unions, was a distributor of Nazi propaganda and chairman of the down town chapter of America First in Los Angeles.

T. W. HUGHES, founder of the Bund reenforced "League to Save America First," conducted meetings largely directed to incite intolerance and class dissensions, and was the author of "The Truth About England," which was sold at America First meetings.

Mrs. FAITH McCULLOUGH, alias Mrs. FRANCES WAXEY, former secretary to German agent PAQUITA LOUISE DESHISHMAREIFF, was active in the Pasadena and Glendale chapters, and was a close associate of WILLIAM HUNT, chairman of the Glendale chapter of America First.

JAMES MCBRIDE, Bund storm trooper, and his wife, a Deutches Haus waitress, attended 23 meetings of the Committee.

BRUCE TARKINGTON DOWDEN co-operated with F. K. FERNIZ and advocated a "whispering campaign" to slur the morals of teachers who support defense programs.

Regarding conditions elsewhere in the country, [redacted] related that DONALD SHEA, leader of the National Gentile League and veteran pro-Nazi, spoke to America First Committee meetings in Chicago, Cincinnati, and Indianapolis. [redacted]

[redacted] related that in Chicago, the German American Alliance, bundist type organization, urged its members to assist them (America First) financially and morally. In Detroit and Philadelphia, Reverend GERALD K. FISH, ex-member of the Silver Shirts Legion, a militarist organization based on a Nazi model, spoke at several big rallies. In New Rochelle, WILLIAM J. BAXTER, propagandist for the Japanese and political associate of Father COUGHLIN, was head of the America First chapter. At Peekskill, New York, Reverend JOHN COLE MCKIN, columnist for a Japanese propaganda weekly which is registered at the State Department, headed the chapter.

[redacted] related that the America First Committee is planning a new party to be known as the "American" or "Christian" Party, which will swing into action before the next election.

In this regard, reference is made to a speech made by PHILLIP LaFOLLETTE on November 1, 1941, in Washington, D. C., at a convention of

America First chapter chairmen and delegates. This speech was broadcast over the Columbia network and expressed the anti-administration isolationist sentiments of the America First Committee. During this speech, LaFOLLETTE made several references to the American Party as opposed to the War Party and urged the support of his listeners in his efforts to curb the progress of the administration. A copy of this speech is being forwarded to the Bureau.

[REDACTED] made available subversive files which reflect that on June 7, 1940, the "Peoples' Anti-War Mobilization" was held at the Raleigh Hotel. Its sponsors were the "National Council for Prevention of War," "Womens' International League for Peace and Freedom," "World Peaceways," "Keep America Out of War Congress," "Fellowship of Reconciliation," "War Resisters League," and the "Youth Committee Against War." 1,300 persons from 19 states and 95 cities attended this meeting. JOHN T. FLYNN (later America First leader in New York City) presided; and, several prominent persons, including Senator BURTON K. WHEELER and NORMAN L. THOMAS, Socialist Party candidate, addressed them. b7c b7d

Reference is made to Bureau letter dated March 16, 1942, with memorandum attached, wherein on page 3, it is reported that DOROTHY DETZER was one of the organizers and is said to consider herself the brain of the America First Committee. DOROTHY DETZER, who is the executive secretary of the Womens International League for Peace and Freedom, was present at the aforementioned meeting on June 10, 1940, and spoke. Possibly this information concerning her as an organizer of the local chapter may have originated from the fact that she was present and active at the aforementioned meeting.

[REDACTED] files reflect that pledges of money were sought at this meeting to aid in the fight, and \$1,200 of cash was contributed. b7c

A review of the Morgue of the Washington Evening Star reflects that the local America First unit was officially organized on December 11, 1940, at a meeting of approximately one hundred people at the home of WILLIAM R. CASTLE, former Under Secretary of State. Five persons were authorized to direct its activities. Those named were Mrs. BURTON K. WHEELER, Mrs. ALICE ROOSEVELT LONGWORTH, Miss KATHRIN LEWIS (daughter of JOHN L. LEWIS), Mrs. WILLIAM R. CASTLE, and Mrs. BENNETT CHAMP CLARK, wife of Senator CLARK of Missouri who was named as chairman. The officers named were Mrs. WHEELER, Treasurer; Mrs. FRANK SIMONDS, Secretary; Mrs. FRANK WEST, Chairman of the Membership Committee; and Mrs. COURTLAND BARNES, Chairman of the Finance Committee. They issued the following statement at this meeting:

"The America First Committee, we believe, represents the opinion of the majority of the people of the United States in opposing our entry into the war. It is not in any way anti-British and feels that in keeping out of

the war, this country is helping Britain more than in any other way. The Committee favors all aid to England within the existing neutrality laws and within whatever limits are compatible with the laws of the United States. It does not believe that the denuding of the defense of this country is compatible with the tremendous defense program to which our country is committed."

The first meeting of the Committee was held in the National Theater with 1,500 persons present on February 2, 1941. Governor PHILLIP LaFOLLETTE, JOHN T. FLYNN, Mrs. ROBERT TAFT, and Mrs. BENNETT CHAMP CLARK spoke. On May 18, 1941, Senator VANDENBERG of Michigan spoke at a luncheon meeting at the Raleigh Hotel.

On May 26, a large ad appeared in the newspapers signed by R. E. WOOD, Chairman of the Committee, challenging the President to repeat his statement that there would be no second A.E.F. On August 7, Representative SOUTHOFF, Progressive from Wisconsin, told them that the government was driving the United States into war.

The Morgue of the Washington Star reflects that Mrs. HAMILTON FISH and also one ISABEL FRENCH became active.

██████████ made available his files which reflect that the America First Committee maintained its office at 126 C Street, N. E., and a research bureau at 142 B Street, N. E., which prepared and circulated form letters concerning the isolationist program.

From the same source, it was learned that

During the investigation of the Registration case entitled LAURA INGALLS, it was learned by the writer [REDACTED] that the America First Committee held weekly meetings at the Friends Meeting House in Washington, D. C., through the spring, summer, and early fall months of 1941. The aforementioned wives of isolationist senators were most active in the Committee meetings. b7c

[REDACTED]
that Women United, Inc., affiliated women's organization of New York City, staged a demonstration on May 14, 1941, at which time 500 women came by train from New York City led by Mrs. HALL MERRICK, President, and convened in the Caucus Room of the Senate Office Building, where they were addressed by KATHLEEN NORRIS, novelist, and Representative WILLIAM T. EPPER of New York and Representative JEANETTE RADCLIFFE of Montana. Following the meeting, they dispersed in small groups to deliver isolationist pleas to various senators and Congressmen. [REDACTED] they staged similar demonstrations on August 13, 1941, and on October 10, 1941.

The writer observed another demonstration of the same type staged by the Brooklyn chapter of the America First Committee at the Senate and House Office Buildings late in October, 1941.

Investigation conducted in the Registration Act case entitled GEORGE SYLVESTER VIENCK, disclosed considerable information concerning the America First activities in connection with [REDACTED]

Following the official announcement on December 10, that the America First Committee would no longer carry on, the offices in Washington, D. C., at 1712 Connecticut Avenue, were closed; and, since that time, no further official activity has taken place. An anonymous inquiry made by the writer at the office of the America First Committee during the investigation of the LAURA INGALLS case resulted in information that the America First Committee of Washington, D. C., was being disbanded and would no longer carry on a program of any nature.

A review of the files of the Washington Field Office reflects the following information concerning persons active in America First and related isolationist activities in Washington, D. C. [REDACTED] b7c

[REDACTED] is reported to have been employed in the Research Bureau of the America First Committee. [REDACTED]

b7c
b2D
JAMES TRUE was reported by [REDACTED] to have obtained a patent in 1934 on a special night stick which he called the "kike killer," and developed into one of the most effective Nazi transmitters in this country. He stated that TRUE'S "industrial control reports" became a Bible for American Fascists and that his offices were a clearing house for anti-democratic, anti-Semitic, and pro-German propaganda. He stated that TRUE is an intimate friend of WILLIAM DUDLEY REILEY, leader of the Silver Shirts, FRITZ KUHN, leader of the German-American Bund, and JOSEPH McWILLIAMS. [REDACTED]

b7c
b2D
ISABEL FRENCH, who is reported to have been Office Manager of the America First Committee in Washington, D. C., is reported by [REDACTED] to have stated, "We of America First believe that you can come to an understanding and do business with HITLER. The interventionists think you can't come to an understanding and do business with HITLER." [REDACTED]

b7c
CATHERINE CURTIS, [REDACTED] National Chairman of Womens Investors of America, which sponsored a women's national committee to keep the United States out of war in 1939 as successor to the Women's National Committee to Keep Hands Off the Supreme Court, is a well known organizer in Washington. Her activities as such were closely related to those of the America First Committee proper, and she worked closely with many women's organizations affiliated with America First, and presently is reported to be engaged in a telephone whispering campaign. [REDACTED]

b7c MICHAEL AHERN, former associate of JAMES TRUE and active in isolationist groups collaborating in Washington with America First, is presently employed as executive assistant to CATHERINE CURTIS and [REDACTED]

DOROTHY DETZER, reported to have been instrumental in the organization of the America First Committee, is executive secretary of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Files of the Washington Field Office reveal that the league is still in existence with offices at 1734 F Street, N. W., from which is issued its bulletin "Four Lights," a copy of which reflects that the league is now pledged to serve the country in its war effort and is devoting attention to post-war problems. Miss DETZER spoke on March 16, 1941, over the America Forum of the Air from Washington, claiming the administration was dragging the United States into the war and that fanatic new order in Europe could only be conquered by an alternative new order for the United States.

GEORGE EDWARD SULLIVAN, [REDACTED]

b7c [REDACTED] has been engaged for years in writing various pamphlets denouncing the administration and the Jews. [REDACTED]

AGNES WATERS, [REDACTED]

b7c [REDACTED], is reported to be presently carrying on the same anti-administration isolationist program that she instituted several months ago and openly advocating by mimeographed letters and speeches the death penalty for President ROOSEVELT, as a traitor to his country. A news clipping dated April 17, 1942, reflects that she spoke in Philadelphia, on that date, and reference is made to an article entitled "Voices of Defeat," which appeared in the April 13, 1942, issue of Life Magazine, wherein it is stated that on February 24, 1942, Mrs. WATERS appeared before a meeting of "We the Mothers Mobilize for America, Inc." on the south side in Chicago, Illinois, and advocated that ROOSEVELT be impeached or court martialed. It will be noted that exhibits being forwarded to the Bureau as enclosures with this report contain considerable information about We the Mothers Mobilize for America, Inc., which is reported to be still actively engaged in an anti-administration movement.

O. K. ARMSTRONG, Springfield, Missouri, was active in America First matters. Investigation in the case entitled LAURA INGALLS; REGISTRATION ACT, disclosed that [REDACTED]

b7c [REDACTED]

b7c [REDACTED]

The files of the Washington Field Office in the case entitled LAURA INGALLS; REGISTRATION ACT, reflects the names of the following persons who were active in the America First Committee chapters in different localities:

Mrs. A. J. PHILLIPS,

[REDACTED]
Bogota, New Jersey.

Mrs. M. I. TENNY,

[REDACTED]
Chicago, Illinois

Mr. FRANK VIERGENTZ

Neillsville, Wisconsin - Chairman

Mr. WILLIAM WILSMANN,

Neillsville, Wisconsin

Mrs. ZEREGA,

[REDACTED]
Los Angeles, California.

GEORGE SCHMIDT and son,
Appleton, Wisconsin

LANSING HOYT, State Chairman, Wisconsin,
Appleton, Wisconsin

Mrs. KETCHIAN, Chairman,
Racine, Wisconsin

Mrs. RIESCHALL, Chairman,
Kenosha, Wisconsin

Mrs. SPENCER PENROSE,
THOMAS MCCARTHY,
Colorado Springs, Colorado

ARTHUR A. BROOKS, JR.,
Rev. M. ALLEN KEITH, Chairman,
Grand Junction, Colorado

FRED FLEMING,
MAIDA MARSHALL,
Mrs. CLAUDE K. BOETTCHER,
GIFFORD PHILLIPS,
Denver, Colorado

b7c
J. C. SEIDEMAN,
[REDACTED]
Kenosha, Wisconsin

Mrs. E. T. KELL,
[REDACTED]
Gary, Indiana

Mrs. W. J. BRANDT,
Chairman of the Women's Auxiliary,
Gary, Indiana.

The literature seized at the time of the arrest of LAURA INGALLS contained a large quantity of speakers' bulletins, committee releases, and isolationist material which was distributed by the America First Committee, and is being forwarded to the Bureau as an enclosure with this report.

Also contained in the literature seized at this time is a large quantity of correspondence and other isolationist material circulated by We the Mothers Mobilize for America, Inc., at Chicago. This organization is reported to be still active; and, its activities are so related to those of the America First Committee that this material, which is being forwarded to the Bureau as an enclosure with this report, may be of interest in the investigation being conducted in the instant case.

Bulletins issued by the Patriotic Research Bureau of Chicago, Illinois, directed by ELIZABETH DILLING, well known foe of the administration, which were obtained from the same source are likewise being submitted as enclosures to the Bureau with this report for the same purpose. Miscellaneous pamphlets and isolationist publications obtained from the same source are also being forwarded to the Bureau as enclosures.

Due to the fact that those persons presently believed to be actively engaged in carrying on activities of the America First Committee are all subjects of independent investigations, no further investigation is being conducted on the America First Committee proper.

ENCLOSURES: To BUREAU

1. Copy of speech given by Governor PHILIP LaFOLLETTE at a convention of America First Committee chairmen, November 1, 1941, Washington, D. C.

2. Pamphlets entitled "Can Hitler Invade America?", "I Hate War," "Our Foreign Policy," by General ROBERT E. WOOD, "Can Hitler Cripple America's Economy?", "Mr. President," "The British Invasion of America," "The Truth About England," and "The New Europe."
3. Speakers' bulletins, cartoons, and press releases issued by the Committee Headquarters of the America First Committee in Chicago, Illinois.
4. Speakers' bulletins issued by the southern California division of the America First Committee.
5. Bulletins issued by Patriotic Research Bureau, ELIZABETH DILLING, Director.
6. Correspondence, bulletins, and report of convention on September 27 and 28, 1941, issued from We the Mothers Mobilize for America, Inc., Chicago, Illinois.
7. Miscellaneous isolationist anti-administration pamphlets and bulletins issued by Mothers Mobilizing Against War, Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Parents of America, St. Paul, Minnesota; and other anti-administration organizations and individuals.

- REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN -

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☒ Deletions were made pursuant to the exemptions indicated below with no segregable material available for release to you.

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- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.

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AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
OF INDIANAPOLIS, INC.
10-19-90
100 North Pennsylvania Street
Indianapolis, Indiana 46204-1100

AMERICA FIRST
OF INDIANAPOLIS, Inc.
40 North Pennsylvania Street
May 1913
Selling
Medium
Selling

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 01-21-01 BY SP-6 BJS/STW

Name _____
Address _____ DATE 2/16/79
Telephone 804-358-1100 Do desired work
☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
I would like to know more about _____

☐ Work with
☐ Telephone
☐ Work alone

1/23/83 1427
 248230

PRINCIPLES

1. The United States must build an impregnable defense for America.
2. No foreign power or group of powers can successfully attack a PREPARED AMERICA.
3. American democracy can be preserved only by keeping America out of this war.

**DEMOCRACY
IN ACTION**

7/23/85
America First Committee
OF INDIANAPOLIS

40 N. Pennsylvania Street

RI 1613

ONLY the opposition of the people, through their letters to Washington, has thus far kept us out of war. Members of Congress and the President, too, are both guided and restrained by the views of the people back home. When they do not hear from you, they naturally assume that you approve their actions, and proceed accordingly.

It is your first duty as a citizen, therefore, to make known your views to your Senators and your Representative, and also to the President, on any important issue. And what issue could be more important to you and to the nation than going to war. Write this week, therefore, and follow this promise that re-elected him, otherwise, "government of the people, by the people, for the people," has indeed already "perished from the earth."

The proper form of address and salutation to members of the Congress and the President is as follows:

To Senators:

Hon. _____
Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, D. C.
Dear Senator:

To Congressmen:

Hon. _____
House Office Bldg.
Washington, D. C.
Dear Congressman:

To the President:

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt
President of the United States
White House, Washington, D. C.
Dear Mr. Roosevelt:



In addition to writing regularly to Washington, write occasionally to the editors of your local newspapers and express your views. Also support your local America First Committee and get your friends and neighbors to join and take an active part in the fight to keep us out of war.

TODAY AND EVERY TEN DAYS—WRITE TO

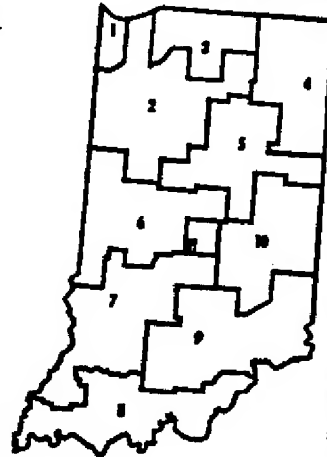
1. PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, White House, Washington, D. C.
2. YOUR SENATORS, Senate Office Bldg., Washington, D. C.
RAYMOND E. WILLIS and FREDERICK VAN NUY
3. YOUR REPRESENTATIVE, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

REPRESENTATIVES

1. WILLIAM T. SCHULTZ
2. CHARLES A. HALLACK
3. ROBERT A. GRANT
4. GEORGE W. KILLIS
5. FOREST A. HARTMAN
6. MORRIS J. JOHNSON
7. HERALD W. LAMSON
8. JOHN W. ROBERTS, JR.
9. EARL WILSON
10. RAYMOND E. SPRINGER
11. WILLIAM E. LARRABEE
12. LOUIS LUDLOW

OTHER KEY OFFICIALS

- SEN. TOM CONNALLY,
Chairman of Senate Foreign Relations Committee.
- SEN. ALBERT W. BARKLEY,
Majority Leader of Senate.
- SEN. CHARLES L. McNARY,
Minority Leader of Senate.
- REP. SOL BLOOM,
Chairman of House Foreign Relations Committee.
- REP. JOHN W. MOORHEAD,
Majority Leader of House.
- REP. JOSEPH W. MARTIN,
Sr., Minority Leader of House.



SAY IT AGAIN, Mr. President!...

Your Boys Are Not Going to Be Sent Into Any Foreign Wars.

"And while I am talking to you, fathers and mothers, I give you one more assurance. I have said this before, but I shall say it again, and again, and again, your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars."

"They are going into training to form a force so strong that, by its very existence, it will keep the threat of war far away from our shores. Yes, the purpose of our defense is defense."

Boston, Oct. 30, 1940

Ships Flying the American Flag Must Stay Out of the War Zones.

"In 1935 in the face of growing dangers throughout the world, your government undertook to eliminate the hazards which in the past had led to war. We made it clear that ships flying the American flag could not carry munitions to a belligerent; and that they must stay out of war zones."

New York City, Oct. 28, 1940

I Am Fighting to Keep Out of Foreign Wars.

"I am fighting to keep this nation prosperous and at peace. I am fighting to keep our people out of foreign wars and to keep foreign conceptions of government out of our United States."

Brooklyn, Nov. 1, 1940

The First Purpose of Our Foreign Policy Is to Keep Out of War.

"We look at the old world of Europe today. It is an ugly world, poisoned by hatred, and greed and fear. We can see what has been the inevitable consequence of that poison—it has been war."

"And we look at this country, built by generations of peaceable, friendly men and women who had in their hearts faith—faith that the good life can be obtained by those who work for it."

"We know that we are determined to defend our country and with our neighbors to defend this hemisphere. We are strong in our defense."

"The first purpose of our foreign policy is to keep our country out of war."

Can Hitler Invade America?

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7/23/85 SP8BG/LB

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10-08-90 Comp #242,442

SP8 BT/col

The facts in this pamphlet were compiled for the America First Committee by John T. Flynn from information gathered from military authorities and writers on military affairs.

★

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
National Headquarters
141 West Jackson Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
30 N. PENNSYLVANIA AVE.
CHICAGO, ILL. 60610
PUBLICATION 1

QUOTATIONS OF LEADING MILITARY AUTHORITIES

"No foreign power or group of powers can operate across the ocean and stand in combat with the American Navy and planes operating from home bases."—Admiral William S. Sims, shortly before his death.

"Of course there is no possibility ever of any hostile attack on either of our coasts."—Rear Admiral W. W. Phelps, Nov. 18, 1935.

"I do not think that any fleet could ever make a landing as effective force on our coast, whether we had a navy or not, provided there are enough shore-based aircraft available. I do not think that any thinking person ever feels that any nation can successfully invade our country leaving out the aircraft or anything else."—Rear Admiral Cook, 1935.

"Considered from the defensive standpoint America is the strongest military nation on the earth—that is, it is the easiest nation to prepare for defensive warfare. It would not take much to make it invulnerable against any nation or combination of nations that might be brought to bear against it."—Major General Hagedorn, 1937.

"Our fleet is large enough to handle simultaneously a combination of enemies, being about as large as Britain's scattered fleet, considerably superior to Japan's, three times as large as Italy's, four times stronger than Germany's, only slightly inferior to the combined navies of all three totalitarian nations, and far stronger in naval aviation than any navy in the world."—Hansson W. Baldwin, July, 1935.

"Continental United States, even without the extraordinary defense measures adopted by Congress, is well-nigh impregnable. So are its outlying possessions, except the Philippines, Wake and Guam. Such impregnability can be brought to a point of completeness with relatively small additional effort."—Hansson W. Baldwin, July, 1935.

CAN HITLER INVADE AMERICA?

THIS little pamphlet is intended to answer the question—Can Hitler invade America? This is a very important question. It is important because Americans are told that this terrible war in Europe is our war.

It is called our war because, we are told, if Hitler defeats England the United States is next on the list. Having crushed England and taken the English navy, it is said, he will then INVADE AMERICA. And because so many people believe this to be true they are willing to go to any lengths to aid Britain to defeat Hitler.

This whole argument turns on one point—that Hitler, after he defeats England, CAN INVADE AMERICA. And so the great question is—CAN HE?

Now then, let us begin at the beginning.

There is no doubt that Hitler and his great Nazi army is a powerful military machine. There is also no doubt that Hitler will stop at nothing to gain his objectives—to take any country that he wants.

He overran Czechoslovakia and Poland swiftly. Then he turned to overrun Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, France in startling quick succession.

Because he could do this we are warned that he can do the same thing to the United States and that the only thing that protects us from Hitler is the British navy.

Let us see therefore just what Hitler would require in order to invade the United States.

First of all, we start out with the fact that all these countries put together — Poland, Czechoslovakia, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, France — are much smaller than the United States.

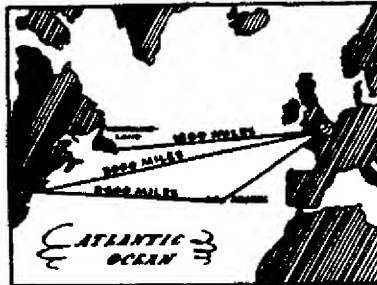
Their total populations equal 110,000,000. Our total population is 130,000,000.

They were divided into seven different countries. Each one was small compared with Germany. They were scattered around Germany's rim. Hitler could attack each one separately. And each one — save France — was just a small morsel for him. But the United States is a unified country—a single nation—and the attack would be against the whole United States.

In the next place, all these countries were right on Germany's land frontiers. In each case all he had to do was to roll across their land borders and he was inside their gates. They had fortresses, barricades. But there was nothing against his vast mechanical equipment. When he had defeated France he turned to fight England. Germany has 50 million population and a gigantic army and an air force three times the size of Britain's. England has only 50 million people. But when Hitler turned on England there was the English Channel — only 23 miles wide at its narrowest point. This is only about half the distance from Washington to Baltimore. But when he faced that problem

of crossing that narrow strip of water—he has not yet, after fifteen months of war and seven months since France fell, even attempted to cross it with soldiers or tanks.

When he attempts to invade the United States—or Canada—he would have to face the problem of crossing with his armies THREE THOUSAND MILES of the Atlantic Ocean and facing not 50



The problem of invading England is all comprised in the small circle. There is a narrow strip of sea—less than 25 miles at its narrow point—which Germany must cross to invade England either with an army or with planes. Sending planes over, of course, is a simple matter as far as distance is concerned. But landing the United States or Canada means traversing the immense mileage of ocean either to New York or Newfoundland or from the Azores or other equally distant ports.

million people on a small island with but small natural resources, but a vast nation with 130 million people and resources far exceeding his own.

Now let us look at this problem as realistically as possible. Just what would be the job that Hitler would have on his hands?

We have spoken of the "might" of Hitler's armies. In what does that might consist? His armies are mighty because they are equipped with an endless supply of tanks, armored trucks, machine guns and great cannon and mortars, anti-aircraft guns and anti-tank guns and great motorcycle squadrons and planes. His army was no longer an army on foot. It was an army in trucks and in tanks plunging against its adversaries and moving them down and rolling over them.

Of course if Hitler ever attempted to invade America he would have to bring not only his soldiers but all this equipment. Without it he would be helpless.

Let us see then what he would have to bring across the 3,000 miles of ocean to invade America.

First, we have to decide how many men he would use to invade America and defeat us. Now right here the reader must understand that the German army leaders have shown immense intelli-

gence. We know that they are not coming to America with a handful of men—they are not going to attempt to conquer us without bringing enough men here to do the job. How many men would that be?

When Hitler invaded little Norway he sent 60,000 men.

When Mussolini attacked Ethiopia he used half a million men—When Hitler went into Poland—just across his borders and with only 36 million population—he marched with 1,000,000 men.

When he moved against Holland, Belgium and France he used not less than TWO MILLION MEN. Estimates place the number far higher.

Now is it not a fair assumption that to defeat the United States here he would have to have at least as many men as he took into France? Does anyone suppose that Hitler could conquer this country with anything less than three or four million men? He would have to have an army that size and all the equipment necessary to make it irresistible.

But let us suppose, however, that Hitler was crazy enough to try to beat the United States with a mere million men. Just how much equipment would he have to bring along with the men to make them effective? The mass of war instruments that such an army requires staggers the imagination.

The following figures are based on the equipment carried by American army units and are, therefore, very much under what the German army units carry.

This army would require:

19,320 machine guns	2,320 75mm. field guns
7,770 automatic rifles	1,120 155m. howitzers
2,590 anti-tank guns	4,280 mortars

Vehicles:

65,590 trucks	1,610 tractors
19,320 trailers	1,756 ambulances
4,500 tanks	1,120 passenger cars
7,910 motorcycles	450 air-compressors
70 electric lighting sets	

Planes:

1,290 light bombers	5,280 reconnaissance planes
1,650 pursuit planes	860 transport planes
(a total of 8,000 planes)	

Anti-aircraft guns:

840 2mm. AA guns	1,680 37mm. AA guns
1,680 .50 calibre AA guns	

Of course such an army must have food, fuel and ammunition. This vast armada, with its modern weapons, would have to bring its food, its oil, its ammunition until the country is conquered.

It would require:

9,000,000 lbs. of rations and supplies a day
1,500,000 gallons of gasoline a day
150,000 gallons of oil.

What quantities of shot and shell would be required it is difficult to say, but the amount would be staggering. After Hitler's army got here, it would have to keep open behind a line of supply from its main supply base capable of keeping a continuous flow of provisions, fuel, ammunition and replacements of arms and equipment.

The problem of transporting this vast army and the mountains of equipment and continuous supplies it would require is utterly beyond the power of any country.

First, the men must be sent over in ships. And these ships must be convoyed. They cannot be sent across the ocean in little vessels. Ships of less than 2,000 tons would, of course, be completely useless.

Of course to send a million men over at one time would be out of the question.

Mr. Hanson Baldwin, the military expert of the New York Times, says:

"The world's seagoing facilities are such that no power or combination of powers could possibly transport more than 500,000 men in a month. An initial expeditionary force of about 50,000 would be the maximum practical number that could be brought against us, if the size of convoy, number of ships and planes needed for protection and the like are considered."

In the World War we sent two million men to France. But we had, according to Col. Leonard Ayres, who wrote the official report on this great enterprise, the ships of twelve different countries—American, British, French, Italian, etc.—and the convoys of the American and British and French navies. The Germans were without a fleet. We landed these men on a friendly shore where they were received with open arms. And we sent an army of engineers and mechanics ahead of them to build ports and docks to unload the equipment.

Let us suppose that Germany has defeated England and taken the British navy. She now decides to send her army to America. Major George Fielding Eliot, military expert of the pre-war New York Herald-Tribune, says:

"Troops cannot be transported overseas in any number save when naval command of the waters over which they pass has been previously assured, since a troop convoy is a large, slow and vulnerable target and will surely suffer heavily if its escort be smacked by anything like an equal force."

In the circumstances we have assumed that Germany, even with the British fleet, would not have complete command of the seas. For there would remain the American navy. And that navy would have to be wiped out before the German navy would command the seas on this side of the ocean. Two things must be remembered. First, the navy of the American navy would be larger than the German navy and the British navy combined. Second, the German government would have to do its naval fighting on this side of the ocean. It is an axiom of sea warfare that a naval vessel loses a fixed percentage of its effectiveness every 100 miles it gets from its own base. Great battleships have to fuel up frequently and must be accompanied by immense auxiliary ships.

Three thousand miles away from their own coasts this navy would be utterly helpless against a navy which is merely its equal in numbers, but which would be three times its strength in effective fighting power. There is not a naval authority who believes that the German government would attempt a mass naval battle in our waters against our naval strength.

If a flotilla of 30 or 40 ships with 50,000 men, convoyed by a larger number of warships and all their equipment attempted to land here, it could not sneak in on some dark night. Plane scouts would herald its approach days in advance. When it got here it could not empty its cargo on an open beach. Which means the flotilla would have to come into one of our harbors, all of which are protected by artillery and would be sown with mines. Major Eliot makes this clear. He says:

"Large armies, accompanied as modern armies must be by artillery of various calibers, tanks and other heavy equipment, as well as vast quantities of munitions and supplies, cannot usually be landed on an open beach, but must first obtain possession of a secure harbor with the necessary piers, cranes, and other accessories for getting ashore their accessories."

Even the planes used by this invading force must be transported to this country by ships. Mr. Baldwin says:

"Today planes must be transported by sea to the Western Hemisphere; the air armies of Europe and Asia are not yet able to bridge the Atlantic and Pacific under their own power. Isolated planes can do it but not mass bombing formations."

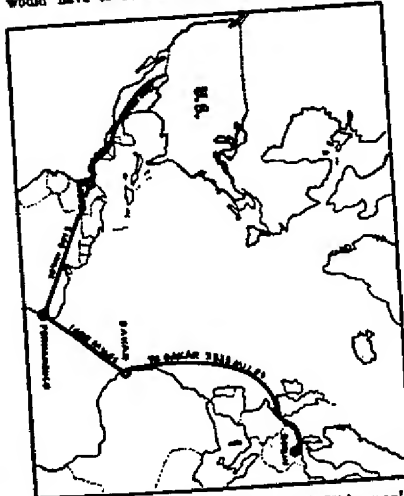
There are planes that have flown across the Atlantic, but they must find a friendly landing here. They cannot come here as hostile craft and be welcomed on hospitable landing fields. It is possible to build bombers that could come here and land a few bombs but this would have no military effect at all.

For every man transported here there must be at least seven and a half tons of shipping. An attacking force of 100,000 would require 750,000 tons. An average of 5,000 tons would require 150 vessels conveyed by a flotilla of naval vessels made up of seven battleships, several aircraft carriers, seven light cruisers, a couple of mine-layers and at least seventy destroyers. Imagine this immense armada, moving slowly over the seas and approaching our coasts—3,000 miles from their own base and at the mercy of our navy and our air force, and compelled to make a landing at a port protected by heavy guns and mine-sown seas.

By the time a million men were landed, if that is conceivable, the attacking government would require 12,000,000 tons of shipping plying back and forth from the other side of the Atlantic to ports here to keep this great army supplied with provisions, fuel and ammunition. This would mean the arrival and departure of at least eighty ships a day and all at hostile ports and through hostile seas. The whole idea is so fantastic that no serious mind will entertain it for a moment. And, as a matter of fact, there is no military authority in this country who believes that an invasion of America by Germany with or without the British fleet is possible.

Hanson Baldwin, in Harper's Magazine for August, 1940, said, referring to an invasion of this hemisphere: "The problem seems impossible; not even Britain or a combination of Britain and Germany has sufficient shipping to divert such an enormous amount of it from their ordinary and vital trade routes to military purposes. We do not, therefore, have to fear the employment of mass armies in this hemisphere; the most we have to guard against is the possible transportation of a small expeditionary force."

To come here, after defeating England, Hitler would have to set out for America upon a vast



This shows the immense distances which Hitler would have to travel with his great army of a million men to attack the United States by way of South America.

military adventure, using up all the military resources he has. He would leave behind him on his rear Russia, which would witness his plight, and 200,000,000 sullen people in Europe who, we may be sure, would be watching the moment to cause him trouble. That moment would come when he was compelled to strip himself in battle to fight here. And he would fight here a battle that he would be sure to lose. Dictators cannot afford to take on such battles. They must win.

The President said in his last Message to Congress, January 6, 1941: "Even if there were no British navy it is not probable any enemy would be stupid enough to attack us by landing troops in the United States from across thousands of miles

of ocean, until it had acquired strategic bases from which to operate."

Here is a complete admission by the man who has done more than anyone else to frighten the American people with the fear of invasion that a direct invasion is not possible. Yet hardly were these words said on the President's lips when Mr. Hull went before a Congressional Committee and said if the British navy were eliminated to cross the Atlantic by Hitler would be a comparatively easy matter.

The President saves his point by insisting that Hitler would first have to acquire bases in this hemisphere. Now just look at this with a little common sense. Hitler will not come across thousands of miles of ocean to invade us directly because of the great distance he would have to transport his armies and equipment. Therefore if he attempted an invasion from bases those bases would have to be much closer to the United States than is Germany. Otherwise there would be no sense in bases.

The bases in this hemisphere which would answer this description from which Hitler could attack us are Brazil, various points in the West Indies, Bermuda, Newfoundland, Greenland and similar points.

Brazil is the favorite South American base to which the President is fond of referring. This is because Hitler can take over West Africa and concentrate his forces at Dakar there.

Africa bulges out on its west coast toward South America and South America bulges out toward Africa in Brazil. Dakar in Africa is only 1,800 miles from Pernambuco in Brazil. Hitler will be able to cross over the Atlantic at this narrow stretch to Brazil and, as Senator Claude Pepper has described it, roll on into Venezuela, into Colombia, up through Central America into Mexico and on to the Rio Grande.

This amazing proposal is so grotesque that it hardly calls for an answer. It overlooks the fact that Hitler must take his vast force to Western Africa by sea—which is 2,200 miles from Germany—and then 1,600 miles across the Atlantic to Brazil. He will have travelled near 4,000 miles. Before he started from Germany he would be 2,200 miles from the United States. After travelling 4,000 miles to Brazil he would be 4,200 MILES FROM THE UNITED STATES. He would be further away than before he started.

He would have to have of course at least a million men—which would be a ridiculously small number. He would have to bring along all that immense accumulation of trucks and trailers and motorcycles and tanks and guns and supplies. He would have to move his men up through the narrow isthmus of Panama and on through the trackless mountainous regions, the swamps, the trackless plains of Guatemala, Nicaragua, Panama, Salvador and Honduras, dragging along his thousand-mile train of trucks and tanks and guns and trailers and supplies into Mexico and up over the wide plateau, the pathless jungles, over the mountain gorges and the fever-infected plains of Mexico—his million men.

his 65,000 trucks, his 30,000 trailers, his 10,000 tanks and incredible supplies of food, fuel, oil and ammunition—conquering all these countries as he goes and leaving behind great numbers of troops to hold them in subjection until he came at last to the Texas border—after a journey of nearly 10,000 miles over land and oceans. And he would still not be in the United States.

This, of course, is a bedtime story to frighten children and is based upon the assumption that American citizens are morons and will believe anything. Yet this is the basis of the argument that "we are next on Hitler's list."

Others tell us he will go to Greenland. Greenland is a vast tract of arctic wilderness, its coasts rimmed by immense mountains, its interior covered with ice in places a thousand feet deep. Military and aviation experts know it is impossible to build these bases there to accommodate either naval or airplane units large enough for attack here. Even if it were possible Hitler could not do this unless he had command of the seas. And if he had command of the seas he wouldn't go to Greenland.

There are, however, other bases from which attacks might be launched. The map (Map 4)



This map shows the various bases from which an enemy might attempt to attack the United States. All those belonging to Britain, Holland, France are within a few days of our waters, some in our waters. They could be taken without firing a shot or losing a life if England were defeated. Germany would then have to take them from us which would be as difficult as landing in the United States.

will show these. You will see very quickly how little we have to fear on this score.

These bases are Newfoundland, Bermuda, the West Indies or any British or Dutch or French possessions in the general neighborhood of the Northern coast of South America.

Germany, it is feared, might, with the British fleet, capture these bases, if Hitler defeated England. If England were to be defeated the American fleet could seize any one of these bases within two days, three at the most. American warships kept within a day or two run from these places—mostly islands—could almost the very day that England fell take possession of these places without firing a shot, spending a dollar or losing a man. There is no need of going into a war—perhaps a ten-year war—to keep the Germans out of bases which we could capture in a few days and at no cost if Britain is defeated.

As for Newfoundland, there we would pursue the policy we would adopt for all of Canada and the country to the North of us in this hemisphere. We would announce that we would resist with force any attack upon that country. It would take Germany years to prepare for such an expedition and when prepared, even if she were stupid enough to attempt it, the same arguments which reveal the folly and impossibility of a frontal attack on the United States apply to Canada backed by the United States.

Why, then, do men talk about Hitler coming here? Because this is the cornerstone of the propaganda to get us into the war. Propagandists have pointed out that to get America in the war, "Americans must be frightened by some threat." And this threat has been manufactured by British and American interventionist propagandists and industriously circulated by them to get us into this war.

Americans are willing to aid Britain because they hate fascism, they are against Hitler, they look upon the English government, despite its aristocratic character, and its empire, as a more civilized form of government than Hitler's dictatorship. They are willing to help through a generous sympathy and not because they think this is our war.

Any airplane attempting to bomb us from Europe or from the Azores would have to face the certain fate of being destroyed. There is not in existence any fleet of planes that could menace us from Europe or from any base such as Greenland or the Azores. And of course everyone knows by now that you do not conquer a country like America merely by dropping bombs on it. It must be occupied. We are not vulnerable as Britain is, which depends for the very food she eats as well as for almost everything else, on shipments from abroad. She can be blockaded. We cannot.

All this does not mean that our country is not menaced by dangers. The most serious dangers are interior. It does not mean that we must be warned. It means that we must provide this country with whatever defenses are essential to make an invasion by any force, however great, impossible. And that is easily possible to us. What is impossible to us is to create inside of many years an aggressive force capable of invading Europe or Asia and carrying on an aggressive war there. And few Americans want to do that.

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

National Committee

GENERAL ROBERT E. WOOD, *Acting Chairman*
R. DOUGLAS STUART, JR., *Director*
J. SANFORD OTIS, *Treasurer*

CHESTER BOWLES

DR. A. J. CARLSON
WILLIAM B. CASTLE
MRS. BENNETT CHAMP CLARK
IRVIN S. COBB
JANET AYER FARRAR
JOHN T. FLYNN
BENJAMIN WILBUR E. HAMMAKER
GEN. THOMAS HAMMOND

JAY C. HORMEL

GEN. HUGH S. JOHNSON
CLAY JUDSON
KATHRYN LEWIS
ALICE ROOSEVELT LONGFORTH
FRANK O. LOWDEN
HANFORD MACNIDER
THOMAS N. MCCARTER
RAY MCKAG

STERLING MORTON

AMOS R. E. PINCHOT
WILLIAM H. RAGNERY
CAPT. EDWARD RICKENBACHER
EDWARD L. RYERSON, JR.
LOUIS J. TARR
MRS. BURTON K. WHEELER
DR. GEORGE H. WHIFFLE
MAJOR ALFORD J. WILLIAMS

The greatest service you can render your country is to write at once to your Senators, your congressman, the President of the United States and your local newspaper protesting against any further steps to involve the United States in the European war.

Also send in your name as a member of the America First Committee, which is working to save America from this war. National Headquarters, 141 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

FILE NO. 100-3355

REPORT MADE AT BALTIMORE, MARYLAND	DATE WHEN MADE 5-27-42	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 8-8-41; 3-25, 26; 5-25-42	REPORT MADE BY [REDACTED] b7c
TITLE ○ AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE			CHARACTER OF CASE INTERNAL SECURITY - G

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

man
Files of G-2 reviewed, indicating that information of a secret meeting reported by five different sources. Background information of activities of America First Committee in Baltimore set out. Former chairman, who resigned because of different views, interviewed with negative results. Recent activities of persons named as possibly interested in underground movement failed to indicate this to be the case. No information developed reflecting any activities on part of America First Committee in Baltimore since dissolution.

- R U C -

REFERENCE:

Bureau letter to all Field Offices dated 3-16-42;
Bureau teletype dated 5-11-42.

DETAILS:

AT BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

A review of the file reflects information regarding the America First Committee prior to its discontinuance which indicates that this organization was suspected of engaging in propaganda work in the City of Baltimore, the nature of which was considered as subversive by certain elements opposed to the general policy of the America First Committee.

An advertisement placed in the Baltimore Sun on August 5, 1941, states in substance that at that moment "a very subtle argument was being 'planted' by Nazi agents and their dupes (twice last week, on the radio) in an attempt to confuse

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <i>E. A. [Signature]</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES 100-4712-385 #249,862 ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 6/30/89 BY SP8 BTJ/RB 10-18-90 SP8 BTJ/CR b7c
COPIES OF THIS REPORT 5 - Bureau (SPECIAL DELIVERY) 2 - Chicago (SPECIAL DELIVERY) 3 - Baltimore		

our minds and delay our action." The advertisement also stated that this form of argument was "direct from propaganda headquarters in Berlin." The advertisement attempted to point out that false arguments were being set up by these propagandists in order that their fallacy might be pointed out. This advertisement was signed by the Fight for Freedom Committee, Maryland Branch, and listed the entire Advisory Committee and the Executive Committee; the latter was headed by GEORGE B. SIMONS, Chairman.

On August 5, 1941, The America First Committee, through its Chairman, JOHN A. GUYER, addressed a letter to the Fight for Freedom Committee challenging that organization to expose and to name the individuals who were spreading the propaganda "direct from propaganda headquarters in Berlin." This letter offered the support and the cooperation of the America First Committee in bringing these persons to justice.

On August 9, 1941, the America First Committee addressed another letter to the Fight for Freedom Committee, pointing out that no answer had been received to their initial request for an expose and they were again asked to name the individuals referred to in the advertisement.

On August 11, 1941, GEORGE B. SIMONS, Executive Chairman, addressed a letter to the America First Committee, stating that it was their belief that a more effective method of dealing with the persons named in the advertisement was to point out the fallacy of such arguments rather than to deal in personalities. They also stated that rather than reveal the names of the persons whom they believed to be the dupes of Nazi agents in Baltimore and so publicize the fact, that it was their duty to turn such information over to the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

On August 13, 1941, the America First Committee sent another letter to Mr. GEORGE B. SIMONS, stating that the thing that interested that organization in the advertisement was the definite statement that Nazi agents twice in the preceding week, over the radio in Baltimore, made an attempt to confuse the minds of the citizens of Maryland and to delay action.

On May 25, 1942, [REDACTED] was interviewed by the writer with the purpose of determining any information he might have with regard to the America First Committee and any activities it might be engaged in since its public dissolution.

[REDACTED] after listening to a radio program sponsored by the America First Committee wherein a minister, whose name he could not remember, had made a strong speech in favor of America staying out of the war and had used arguments which he felt were fallacious. He stated that the method of argument was to set up a false argument and then to knock it down with a more logical argument. He said that he had no proof whatever that any members of the America First Committee were being influenced by Nazi agents or Nazi propagandists, but

that it was his personal feeling that the results obtained from the arguments used by this organization were in keeping with the approved propaganda of the Nazi regime. He said this was the only information he had regarding the America First Committee and it was his understanding that the organization was presently dissolved and he knew of no subsequent attempt in Baltimore to keep this organization alive.

b7c A complete review of the files of the Office of Military Intelligence in Baltimore concerning the America First Committee was made by Special Agent [REDACTED], which reflected the following information concerning an underground movement of this organization.

On January 23, 1942, the newspaper PM in New York City published an article entitled "Firsters Meet Here Secretly." This Article reflected that Colonel CHARLES A. LINDBERGH and others had met in New York City for a secret meeting.

On January 20, 1942, a report originating either in the FBI, New York, or DNI, New York, office reflected information similar to that appearing in the newspaper PM.

On January 22, 1942, a report originating in the G-2 office, New York, indicating information from a private source, reflected practically the identical information set out in the PM article.

On January 27, 1942, the War Department in Washington, D. C. received a report from a private source concerning secret meetings of the America First Committee similar to the information appearing in the newspaper PM.

On January 28, 1942, the newspaper writers DREW PEARSON and ROBERT S. ALLEN revealed information concerning secret meetings of the America First Committee similar to that appearing in the newspaper PM.

It was pointed out that this meeting, although supposedly extremely secret in nature, had become known to the office of G-2 from five different sources and the suggestion was made that this fact alone would indicate that a deliberate organized propaganda scheme was being instigated by some source in an attempt to discredit the America First Committee. The records of G-2 reflected no information concerning secret meetings of the America First Committee in Baltimore.

b7c On March 26, 1942, Special Agent [REDACTED] made a review of the correspondence, pamphlets, and newspaper articles contained in the Enoch Pratt Library in Baltimore concerning the subject organization, which reflected the following information:

On April 23, 1941, the headquarters of the Maryland chapter of the America First Committee was designated as the Emerson Hotel, WALTER W. HANFILL, Acting Chairman.

On April 29, 1941, Senator GERALD P. ~~NYE~~ spoke at the Lyric Theatre at a meeting sponsored by the America First Committee.

On May 8, 1941, an article appeared in the Baltimore Sun which reflected that the new headquarters of the Maryland chapter of the America First Committee was to be located at 516 North Charles Street. This article also contains information that JOHN A. GWYER, Treasurer, was strongly opposed to any convoys of ships to England.

On May 28, 1941, an article appearing in the Baltimore Sun reflected that ~~WALTER W. HAMILL~~ had resigned as Chairman of the America First Committee at Baltimore because of a disagreement with the national officers of the organization. It appeared that HAMILL was opposed to any military activity by the United States. HAMILL'S home is [REDACTED] in Baltimore. b7c

On June 6, 1941, an article appeared in the Baltimore Sun which reflected that PHILIP L. LAFOLETTE, former Governor of Wisconsin, and Mrs. ROBERT A. TAFT addressed 1500 persons at the Lyric Theatre at a meeting sponsored by the Baltimore chapter of the America First Committee.

On December 8, 1941, an article appeared in the Baltimore Sun reflecting that JOHN A. GWYER, President of the Maryland branch of the America First Committee, had publically stated that the subject organization in Maryland had suspended action and would probably dissolve.

On May 25, 1942, [REDACTED] was interviewed regarding any information which might have come to his attention reflecting subsequent activity on the part of the America First Committee. [REDACTED] stated that he had joined the America First Committee at its very inception in Baltimore, and had worked with its organizer in an attempt to make this a successful organization. He stated that his reason for joining the America First Committee was to bring together as a unified front persons who were conscientiously opposed to the United States entering the European war. He said that at that time he was a conscientious objector and registered as such under the Selective Training and Service Act. b7c b7d

[REDACTED] Up until the entry of the United States into the war on December 7, 1941, he had been thoroughly convinced in his own mind that he was entirely right in being a conscientious objector. However, upon the entry of the United States into the war, he felt that it was the duty of every citizen to do all that he could to protect the United States and for this reason has withdrawn his conscientious objection to the draft, and has been given a III-A classification due to the fact that he supports his grandfather and grandmother. b7c

[REDACTED] b7D

[REDACTED] said that his activity in the America First Committee had been strenuous at the beginning, but that he had resigned from the organization because of the growing attitude of anti-Semitism on the part of some of the leading individuals in the America First Committee. Since that time he has had absolutely no contact with the America First Committee and although he expressed a desire to be of any service possible in giving information on the present status, he said that he had no such information. b7C

It was pointed out [REDACTED] that there was a possibility of subversive elements using the America First Committee in such a manner as to further the propaganda plans of the Nazi regime should they gain control of it. In view of this possibility, [REDACTED] was asked who he felt would be inclined to continue as a member of the organization although it had been publically disbanded. [REDACTED] said that while he had no indication that such was the case, he felt that if such a thing did exist the persons who would still be members were those whose ideas were most radical and most deep seated, whom, he felt, would not change their views simply because the United States had entered the war. [REDACTED] b7D

He stated that [REDACTED] was a firm believer in the teachings of COUGHLIN and had entered the America First Committee with his following as a Coughlinite. He said that [REDACTED] was the key person in Baltimore of this following. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] b7c
[REDACTED] b7
Further information concerning [REDACTED] is set out in the forthcoming report of Special Agent [REDACTED] at Baltimore, Maryland, in the case entitled, [REDACTED] WEEKLY FOREIGN LETTER, REGISTRATION ACT," a case with New York origin, Baltimore file number 97-22. This report reflects that [REDACTED] b7

stated that he had been active in the America First Committee and while he was not questioned regarding any present activity of the America First Committee, he indicated that as far as he knew the organization was completely disbanded.

Inasmuch as investigation has failed to indicate any activity on the part of the America First Committee as an underground movement or as a dormant organization, this case is being closed, in the Baltimore Field Division.

REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

FILE NO. 100-919

REPORT MADE AT HOUSTON, TEXAS	DATE WHEN MADE 5/26/42	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 4/13, 29, 30; 5/7, 16, 21/42	REPORT MADE BY [REDACTED] b7c
TITLE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE			CHARACTER OF CASE INTERNAL SECURITY (C)

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

Attempt made to organize Houston Chapter of America First Committee on 8/29/41, at Ben Milan Hotel by W. F. DIXON and Reverend R. T. SMALL. b7D
One meeting held between 8/29/41 and 12/7/41, after which time the Committee disbanded. All records returned to General ROBERT E. WOOD, Acting Chairman of America First Committee, at Chicago. No indication of underground organization inimical to the U.S. in Houston.

- RUC -

REFERENCE: Bureau letter 3/16/42.

DETAILS: AT HOUSTON, TEXAS

On the night of August 29, 1941, Special Agent **[REDACTED]** attended an announced meeting of the America First Committee in the reception hall at the Ben Milan Hotel, Houston. There were approximately 60 people present at that time, and Agent **[REDACTED]** observed a liberal sprinkling of American Legion members present. The meeting was presided over by a man who gave his name as FRED DIX, the operator of a packing company in Houston. The first part of the meeting was consumed by listening to a speech delivered over the radio by CHARLES A. LINDBERGH. Thereafter the principal speech of the meeting was delivered by a man who was announced as Reverend R. T. SMALL. SMALL's speech was decidedly illiterate and he announced that it was the intention of the America First Committee to organize a number of chapters in Houston, composed of people who were opposed to the foreign policy of the present administration, and believed that that policy was leading the United States to War. From conversations overheard at the meeting by Agent **[REDACTED]** it was noted that Reverend SMALL was not presently

APPROVED AND FORWARDED:

[Signature]
SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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100-4712-386

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JUN 11 1942
MAILED 6/1/42

MAILED 1942

b7c

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COPY

100-919
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

HOUSTON
5/26/42

b7c engaged in preaching in Houston, but that he was publishing a small newspaper the vicinity of his home located at [REDACTED] Houston. At that time [REDACTED] secured copies of literature which was distributed at the meeting and the literature obtained is being retained in the files of the Houston Field Division.

b7c Agent [REDACTED] noted that information furnished him was to the effect that [REDACTED]

b7c
b2 [REDACTED]

b7c
b7D [REDACTED]

and that toward that end a meeting had been held at the Ben Milan Hotel on the evening of August 29, 1941. [REDACTED] informed that the Houston chapter was composed of [REDACTED], the names of which he could not recall, and it was his belief that the records of the organization had all been returned to General ROBERT WOOD, in Chicago, Illinois. [REDACTED] stated that only one meeting was held subsequent to the one of August 29, 1941, and that the activities of the Houston chapter did not actually reach any proportions prior to December 7, 1941. A December 7, 1941, the organization was completely disbanded on the instructions of General ROBERT WOOD of Chicago.

[REDACTED] added that no information had come to his attention which would indicate that any of the individuals who comprised the Houston chapter of the Committee, were in the past or in the present engaged in any activity inimical to this country. [REDACTED] added that Reverend SMALL was a pseudo politician.

100-919
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

HOUSTON
5/26/42

and took a great interest in attempting to organize the Houston chapter of the America First Committee, but that immediately after Pearl Harbor Reverend SMA's beliefs were entirely in accord with President ROOSEVELT's policies.

b7c
b7D
[redacted] informed that the Houston chapter of the Committee was organized in August, 1941, and that their beliefs were of such a nature that they believed that the United States could refrain from entering the conflict at that time.

[redacted] stated that the chapter in Houston was disbanded on December 8, 1941, upon the instructions of General WOOD, of Chicago, who requested that all files and records which were maintained in Houston be returned to the headquarters, at Chicago.

[redacted] had returned all records to Chicago. [redacted] advised that all individuals who were originally taken into the organization were entirely loyal to the country and the administration's policy concerning the war effort, and that to his knowledge no activities of a subversive nature were being carried on by any individual who had any connection with the America First Committee.

In view of the fact that no information was developed indicating that the America First Committee was being conducted by any subversive group in the Houston area, this case is being considered referred upon completion to the office of origin. However, [redacted] advise the writer, or the Houston Office of any subversive activities coming to their attention, and as any information be received in the future, this case will be re-opened for the purpose of recording such data.

REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO OFFICE OF ORIGIN

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Original CHICAGO

File No. 100-3249

Report Made At LOS ANGELES	Date Made 5/27/42	Period 5/23/42	Report Made By [REDACTED]
--------------------------------------	-----------------------------	--------------------------	-------------------------------------

Title:

THE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

INTERNAL SECURITY - G

**ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED**

DATE 9/5/80 BY SP8-BJ/...

SYNOPSIS:

America First Committee ceased as an active open organization with entrance of the United States into the war. Many of its members went into other local organizations such as The Friends of Progress and The World Events Forum and continued to advocate the policy of isolationism. Principal leaders of America First have been standing on side lines. Anticipate activity when elections start. Women anxious to revive organization following leadership of HORACE HAASE of New York. FREDERICK J. LIBBY spoke in Los Angeles between 5/10/42 and 5/16/42 at a meeting sponsored by the University School of Religion and advised immediate peace to avoid slaughter. Stated if Russia wins United States will go Communist. Also "The America First Committee should never be stopped. The women should reorganize, secretly if necessary."

REFERENCES:

Letter from the Bureau dated 3/16/42.
Teletype from the Bureau dated 5/11/42.

DETAILS:

This investigation is predicated upon reference letter [REDACTED] advised that one of his operators is very active in the America First Committee prior to the United States

Approved *[Signature]*

SAC

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MAILED 29 1942

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b7c

entrance into the war and would probably be invited to participate in any movement either open or secret of the America First Committee. However, since the United States entered the war there has been no activity on the part of the America First Committee. Many of the active members of the America First Committee participated in the activities of such organization as the Friends of Progress under the direction of ROBERT NOBLE, [REDACTED] and into the The World Events Forum under the direction of A. M. WINDHAUST, [REDACTED] b7C

[REDACTED] Both of these groups operated for sometime after the war and advocated the same policies which were advocated by the America First Committee prior to the war. It is not known whether or not these groups were sponsored by the America First Committee. However, the leaders of these groups were dropped from the Speakers Bureau of the America First Committee sometime before the United States entered the war because of their extreme views.

The leaders of the America First Committee in Los Angeles during its active life were JOHN WHEELER, son of Senator BURTON K. WHEELER, FRANK BARRY, local attorney, and JOSEPH SCOTT, prominent Catholic layman and attorney. Since the advent of the United States into this war, these three men have taken no part in any organization which has opposed the war effort and there has been no open activity on their part which would indicate that the America First Committee is active in any way. However, FRANK BARRY intends to run for Congress at the next election and he feels that the policies of the America First Committee may then be brought to light again and placed before the people and under the standards of political talk, they will be accepted.

The secondary leaders of the America First in this district are [REDACTED] b2 b7D advised that none of these men has carried on the work of the America First Committee as the leader of an organization either open or secret. [REDACTED] attended many meetings of the Friends of Progress and The World Events Forum but had no part in directing the organization. [REDACTED] has not organized any new group nor has he spoken at any of the meetings of isolationist groups. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] has not been very active since the United States entry into the war.

[REDACTED] further stated that the women who were active leaders and members of the America First Committee are more intent on carrying on the work of America First than the men. At the present time, the only thing that is holding them back is the absence of leadership. b2 b7D

Mrs. J. HENRY OBER, former leader of The Mothers of America, a group of women advocating the policies of America First, is the most active of these women. These women are following the national leadership of

HAASE who was formerly very active in the America First Committee in New York. He now sets out a news letter under the sponsorship of an organization known as America for Peace. Some of the women in Los Angeles, including Mrs. OME receive this letter. b7D

[redacted] advised that FREDERICK J. LIBBY of Philadelphia was known as a pacifist and former active "America Firster" and the person who sponsored LAURA INGALLS first peace movement which consisted in dropping leaflets over Washington, D.C. when the Germans first moved into Poland. He has been making a tour of the country and came to Los Angeles between May 10, 1942 and May 16, 1942 and spoke at a meeting sponsored by the University School of Religion. This meeting was arranged by [redacted] b7C

At this meeting LIBBY stated that "the United States should sue for immediate peace to avoid a slaughter", and "If Russia wins, all Europe and the United States will go Communist", and also, "We must choose between two evils, Nazism and Communism and Nazism is the lesser evil." "Only the Nazis stand between us and a Russian victory." "The America First Committee should never have stopped. The Women should reorganize, secretly if necessary." b1 b7 b7C

[redacted]

P E N D I N G

UNDEVELOPED LEADS:

THE PHILADELPHIA FIELD DIVISION

At Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, will determine whether FREDERICK J. LIBBY is attempting to reorganize the America First group; will determine whether he is presently making a speaking tour and obtain his itinerary if possible.

THE LOS ANGELES FIELD DIVISION

At Los Angeles, California, will recontact [REDACTED] for any information relative to the reorganization of the America First Committee. b2 b7 b

Will contact [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] for any information he may have as to what will become of the activities of the America First Committee, or its leaders.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

SIOUX FALLS, SOUTH DAKOTA

FILE NO. **100-515**

REPORT MADE AT SIOUX Falls, S. Dak.	DATE WHEN MADE 5/27/42	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 5/25/42	REPORT MADE BY <div style="background-color: black; width: 100px; height: 1.2em; display: inline-block;"></div> b7c
TITLE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE IN THE SIOUX FALLS FIELD DIVISION.			CHARACTER OF CASE INTERNAL SECURITY - G.

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

Investigation discloses America First Committee had chapters in Grand Forks, N. Dak. and Sioux Falls, Lennox and Parkston, S. Dak. No information that America First Committee is operating underground.

- P -

REFERENCE:

Bureau teletype dated May 11, 1942.

DETAILS:

AT BISMARCK, NORTH DAKOTA.

In a memorandum dated August 31, 1941, Special Agent [REDACTED] advised that the German language newspaper DER STÄTTIS-ANZIGER, published in Bismarck, North Dakota, was soliciting members for the America First Committee [REDACTED]

Subsequent inquiry by agents of this field division in Bismarck and Minot, North Dakota, failed to disclose that the America First Committee was in operation during 1941, and the contacting of informants failed to disclose that the America First Committee is operating underground at the present time in either of these two cities.

AT GRAND FORKS, NORTH DAKOTA.

In a memorandum dated May 2, 1942, Special Agent [REDACTED] advised that he had contacted [REDACTED]

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <div style="text-align: center;"> W. Hanna <small>SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE</small> </div>	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 60%;"> 9 JUN 11 1942 </div> <div style="width: 35%; text-align: center;"> 100-4712-388 </div> </div>
COPIES OF THIS REPORT 5 - Bureau 1 - Chicago (Information) 1 - Des Moines (Information) 1 - St. Paul (Information) 3 - Sioux Falls	<div style="text-align: right;"> RECORDED & INDEXED b7c </div>

b7c
b7D

in that city; that Grand Forks was the only active chapter in the State of North Dakota, and that the chapter had not been engaged in activities until June, 1941, at which time CIARK and NYE spoke in Grand Forks. [REDACTED] further advised that the closest clubs were in Winona and Minneapolis, Minnesota, and that due to that fact many of the members in North Dakota were enrolled in the Minnesota clubs. [REDACTED] further stated that to the best of his knowledge there never were any America First Committees in Fargo, Bismarck, Minot, Jamestown or any other city in North Dakota, and that the Grand Forks chapter had been disbanded on December 18, 1941 in accordance with a letter sent out by the National President, R. E. WOOD, Chicago.

[REDACTED] further stated that the officers of the Grand Forks chapter at the time of its dissolution were FRED E. BYE, Chairman, Gilby, North Dakota; D. C. MacDONALD, Grand Forks, Secretary; FRED LOOMIS, Grand Forks; HORACE WEBSTER, Northwood, North Dakota; C. E. WAISTER, Larimore, North Dakota. [REDACTED] stated that he holds a list of all the contributors to the America First in North Dakota and Northern Minnesota at the day of their disbandment, and that such information would always be available to the Bureau.

A discreet inquiry on the part of other agents in Grand Forks and other cities and towns throughout North Dakota failed to disclose that there were any America First Committees operating in that State and no information was obtained as to any present activity.

AT SIOUX FALLS, SOUTH DAKOTA.

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] She advised that the America First group was first organized in Sioux Falls in January, 1941, and continued until its dissolution with the outbreak of the war. She advised that the total membership list of this chapter was approximately 1500 which consisted of about 300 from the State of Iowa and 200 from an adjoining area in Minnesota; that about 650 were from the City of Sioux Falls itself, and the remainder in the adjoining territory in Southeastern South Dakota. She advised that all of the records and membership list of the Sioux Falls America First Committee had been immediately forwarded to the National Headquarters in Illinois in January, 1942 upon specific request by the National President. She advised that BLAINE SIMONS was Chairman of the group. MRS. MUNDT was Secretary and MRS. GEORGE (GLADYS) LAWRENCE was Treasurer.

She advised that to the best of her knowledge there were only two other America First Committees operating in 1941 in South Dakota, one at Lennox, South Dakota, of which J. E. PLUNKER was Chairman, and another one at Parkston, South Dakota, whose Chairman she could not remember.

It was ascertained in a very confidential manner that BLAINE SIMONS, former Attorney in Sioux Falls, is now a Second Lieutenant in the United States Army at Fort Riley, Kansas, and that he wrote a letter on December 8, 1941 to a friend stating that he had been contacted by a Sioux Falls newspaper for a

statement on behalf of the America First Committee, and that he advised the newspaper that the activities had been suspended. He stated, however, that "it would be wise for groups to function in the interests of economy and for proper prosecution of the war". It was likewise ascertained in a very confidential manner that SIMONS had been endeavoring to establish America First chapters in Aberdeen and Watertown, South Dakota during 1941.

Discreet inquiries made by agents of this office in the different towns and cities of South Dakota failed to disclose that the America First Committee had established chapters anywhere, and there was no indication that the America First is operating underground.

- P E N D I N G -

UNDEVELOPED LEADS

The attention of all agents conducting inquiry in this matter is directed to the Director's letter dated March 16, 1942 to all SACs, and specifically to the part which states that all approaches to persons who were formerly connected with the America First Committee should be very discreet and should only be made after it has recently been ascertained that they are not a part of the underground organization now functioning.

AT BISMARCK, NORTH DAKOTA, will by discreet investigation and the use of informants ascertain if the newspaper DER STATT-ANZIGER is presently connected with the America First Committee in any underground activities.

AT GRAND FORKS, NORTH DAKOTA, will by discreet inquiries and the use of informants ascertain if the America First Committee is now operating.

AT PARKSTON, SOUTH DAKOTA, will in the same manner endeavor to ascertain the same information.

AT LENNOX, SOUTH DAKOTA, will in the same manner endeavor to ascertain the same information.

b2D [REDACTED] should not be contacted unless [REDACTED]

AT ABERDEEN, SOUTH DAKOTA, will by discreet inquiries and the use of informants ascertain if a chapter was organized in 1941; if so, the extent of its activities and whether or not there is any present underground organization.

AT WATERTOWN, SOUTH DAKOTA, will obtain the same information

AT SIOUX FALLS, SOUTH DAKOTA, will endeavor by the use of informants to ascertain any present subversive activities on the part of the America First Committee.

- P E N D I N G -

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **CHICAGO**

PROV. FILE NO. **100-251**

REPORT MADE AT PROVIDENCE, R.I.	DATE WHEN MADE 5/27/42	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 5/25/42	REPORT MADE BY [REDACTED] b7c
TITLE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE			CHARACTER OF CASE INTERNAL SECURITY-G

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE in State of Rhode Island has been inactive since entrance of the United States into current war.

-RUC-

REFERENCE:

Bureau letter March 16, 1942.

Teletype from Bureau May 11, 1942.

DETAILS:

[REDACTED] at the Providence Field Division was interviewed in connection with the existence of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE within the State of Rhode Island. This individual is the only known person who has made a considerable and vigorous effort to follow the activities of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE in this State and he advised that [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] he has been informed, and he has found no evidence to the contrary, that the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE is now inactive in the State and has seen no indications of a skeleton organization being represented by the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE to carry on their activities.

-REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN-

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 10-18-90 BY SP8BTJ/cal

APPROVED AND
FORWARDED:

[Signature]
SPECIAL AGENT
IN CHARGE

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100-4712-389

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2 PROVIDENCE

9 JUN 11 1942

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☐ (b)(3)

☒ (b)(7)(C)

☐ (k)(1)

☒ (b)(7)(D)

☐ (k)(2)

☐ (b)(7)(E)

☐ (k)(3)

☐ (b)(7)(F)

☐ (k)(4)

☐ (b)(4)

☐ (b)(8)

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☐ (b)(5)

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May 19, 1942

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-18-90 BY SP8BJC/L

Special Agent in Charge
Buffalo, New York

RE: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
INTERNAL SECURITY (C)

Dear Sir:

The Bureau is in receipt of a submission slip from the
National Censorship dealing with a letter dated December 9, 1941,
from [REDACTED] to [REDACTED]

The following quotation was excerpted from the above
communication:

"Not only the fact that we are at war but the dis-
gusting exhibition that our NAVY put on in HAWAII. Roosevelt
is to speak tonight and I will indeed be interested to have
his report. We have reports that GERMAN authorities announce
that 'WAR LOVING ROOSEVELT has at last got his way' and I
can't help but agree. I guess, though, that I'll lose my
AMERICA FIRST MEMBERSHIP card down the drain and 'come what
may.'"

No specific investigation is requested and the material
submitted above is for your information in the investigation of
instant case.

Very truly yours,

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
Mr. Clegg _____
Mr. Glavin _____
Mr. Ladd _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tracy _____
Mr. Carson _____
Mr. Coffey _____
Mr. Hendon _____
Mr. Kramer _____
Mr. McGuire _____
Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
Mr. Nease _____
Miss Gandy _____

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAILED 4

★ MAY 21 1942 P.M.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

John Edgar Hoover
Director

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100-4712-1

U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

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Records No. ~~NY 9909~~

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Registered No. ~~XXXX~~

Serial No.

From—

To—

Date of letter
 (or postmark) ~~DEC. 9th, 1941~~
 If letter undated)

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COMMENT

POLITICAL
 ENGLISH

RE: SPONSORING OF ADVANCE PROGRAMS BY D. S. GARDNER to
 THIS CONTINUED COUNTRY

Writer - Member of "America First Committee" writes the following to addressee
 (a friend, the writer loves)

Page 2 (top of page) Line 1

"Not only the fact that we are at war but the disgusting exhibition
 that our NAVY put on in HAIL. Roosevelt is to speak tonight and I
 will indeed be interested to have his report. We have reports that
 GERMAN authorities announce that "RAF LOVING ROOSEVELT has at last
 got his way" and I can't help but agree. I guess, though, that I'll
 lose my AMERICA FIRST membership card down the drain and "see what say."

ADS INQ
 AG INT
 BEV LG
 BP MC
 CAA MID
 CAC ONI
 CIAA PO
 COI RPO
 OCA SD
 CPC T
 DL BF
 ED BE
 FE CAX
 FOC JSM
 FE MEW
 FEA SC
 FIC

MAY 25 RECD

Division
 (or section)

TABLE

EXAMINER

D. A. C.

DATE

Write

9 out 3

5800

5800

March 1941, 1942

61128

61128

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Milwaukee FILE NO. 100-2936

REPORT MADE AT MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN	DATE WHEN MADE 5/27/42	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 5/7, 8, 14, 26/42	REPORT MADE BY [REDACTED] b7c
TITLE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE			CHARACTER OF CASE INTERNAL SECURITY (C)

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-18-90 BY SP8 BTJ/
COL

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE began organizing in Milwaukee and State of Wisconsin in October of 1940 under direction of National Committee of Chicago. LANSING HOYT, Chairman of AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE in Wisconsin, also Milwaukee County Republican Party Chairman. Offices were opened at 208 East Wisconsin Avenue and formation of chapters continued throughout the state up to the time of its dissolution in December of 1941 after the declaration of war. [REDACTED] b7c

[REDACTED] There has been no evidence of any activity of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE organization since its dissolution to date. Investigation continued.

- P -

REFERENCES:

Bureau letter to all offices, dated 3/16/42;
Bureau teletype dated 5/11/42 and 5/26/42.

DETAILS:

A review of the files in the Milwaukee Office reflect the following information:

APPROVED AND FORWARDED:

H. J. O'Connor

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The MILWAUKEE JOURNAL, in an article dated January 12, 1941, carried an announcement by LANSING HOYT, Chairman of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, that organization of the Committee in Milwaukee and the State of Wisconsin was under way; that offices had been opened at 208 East Wisconsin Avenue; that MAX V. BARR, industrialist; LOUIS CHARLES, Milwaukee attorney; CHESTER O. MANVIC, industrialist; WILLIAM E. MARSHALL, investment firm official; ELLIOTT M. OGDEN, real estate man; and MRS. EDWIN E. COLMAN, daughter of Senator BURTON K. WHEELER, had accepted appointments to the group as an advisory committee. This article also announced a membership drive and encouraged individuals to communicate with the local office for enrollment, also stating that 500 names were received the first day; that it was contemplated a membership committee of 100 would be named and they aimed at 50,000 enrollees in Milwaukee; that they planned a rally at the Milwaukee Auditorium soon.

The Waupun, Wisconsin local newspaper, in an article in January, 1941, reflected that application had been made for a local charter of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE at Waupun, Wisconsin, a meeting having been arranged by J. F. TRIPLE, President of the Teople Shoe Company, and that among those who signed the application, in addition to TRIPLE, were JUDSON BIKERS, J. J. NUGENT, HAROLD BLOW, and R. J. WAHLER.

In this respect, it should be noted that the writer, while conducting investigation in a sabotage case in the vicinity of Waupun, was advised by [REDACTED] that TRIPLE of the Teople Shoe Company had been leader of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE prior to the United States' entry into the war, but that there had been no activity of this committee after the declaration of war.

An article in the Milwaukee Sentinel of April 15, 1941, advised that former Governor PHILIP LAFOLLETTE would interview Senator BURTON K. WHEELER at the Milwaukee Auditorium at a meeting held under the auspices of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, headed by LANSING HOYT, and that tickets for the address by COLONEL LINDBERG at Chicago would be obtainable at the Local AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE Office in Milwaukee.

On April 21, 1941 The MILWAUKEE SENTINEL reflected that a University Chapter had been formed in Milwaukee, with members from Marquette University and the University of Wisconsin Extension Division, and the Milwaukee State Teachers College; and also that Senator BURTON K. WHEELER would speak before the Milwaukee State Teachers College group in the near future.

The files also reflect that one [REDACTED] reported to this office that he had attended a meeting at the Schroeder Hotel on May 20, 1941, where WILLIAM E. TAAY presided and passed out AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE literature; that TAAY previously had conducted

the Community Forum at Jefferson Hall in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. TAY claims the support of many churches in this area; namely: Evangelical, Christian Scientists, 7th Day Adventists, Catholic priests at Whitefish Bay, and others.

A report of [REDACTED] reflects that he attended the meeting February 8, 1941 at 2451 South St. Clair Street, where PETER DAVIS of [REDACTED], presided at the meeting, the purpose of which was to form a Bay View Chapter of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE; that OSCAR BEHRL and WEBSTER WOODMANSE spoke. b7c b7d

In the case entitled "AMERICAN PEACE MOBILIZATION - INTERNAL SECURITY," in which New York is the office of origin, the report of Special Agent [REDACTED] dated 11/10/41, reflects that [REDACTED] stated that at the American Peace Mobilization Headquarters he had been approached by the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE to form an A.F.C. Committee in West Allis but had turned down the proposition because of the financial set-up.

The MILWAUKEE JOURNAL of November 1, 1940 carried an ad for membership combined with an anti-war article issued by the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, listing in this ad the national committeemen, and requesting that applications should be mailed to the United States Board of Trade Building, Chicago, Illinois.

On August 4, 1941 the MILWAUKEE JOURNAL carried an article advising that sub-chapters of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE were to be formed in each ward in Milwaukee, and that Professor C. L. SCANLON of Marquette University would address the 18th Ward Sub-Chapter at Century Hall, 2430 North Farwell Avenue, subject of the discussion being the possibility of Nazi attack through South America.

The MILWAUKEE JOURNAL of August 14, 1942 reflects that a 9th Ward Chapter of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE had been formed at Smith Park Pavilion, LESTER W. KEEHLIN being elected chairman of the chapter.

On December 8, 1941 the JOURNAL carried an article stating that LESTER J. BRADSHAW was one of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE'S most active speakers.

The MILWAUKEE JOURNAL of December 12, 1941 carried an announcement by LANSING HOYT that all chapters in the State of Wisconsin would be dissolved.

The above information is set forth inasmuch as information concerning the organizational structure of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE is not available to this office at the present time.

b7c
b7d

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised that he first became cognizant of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE through contacts and literature received from National Headquarters at Chicago, principally from General ROBERT E. WOOD, Acting Chairman, whom he knows and respects. He stated that subsequently LANSING HOYT, Chairman of the Milwaukee County Republican Party, was appointed chairman of the Wisconsin Committee by the National Committee; that he has known HOYT for a considerable length of time. HOYT has been active in politics in Milwaukee for a number of years; however, he [REDACTED] does not question HOYT'S sincerity and his association with the AMERICAN FIRST COMMITTEE, believing him to be a good American citizen, and he knows positively that since the dissolution of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, HOYT has taken absolutely no action in connection with the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE in any manner whatsoever. He [REDACTED] through his contacts with HOYT and other members of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE locally, would probably have knowledge of any underground activities on the part of this Committee.

[REDACTED] advised that he is not personally familiar with the organizational or financial setup of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, other than he has frequently heard HOYT state that of membership dues collected, a certain percentage was transmitted to the National Committee in Chicago and a certain amount was maintained here in Milwaukee for organizational expenses, which were being carried on throughout the state.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

In order to accomplish the investigation suggested by the Bureau, it is deemed advisable to obtain, if possible, [REDACTED] the entire

100-2936

organizational set-up of AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE in the State of Wisconsin, location of its chapters, the various chairmen of these chapters, and individuals identified with the activity in each chapter, in order that a careful selection may be made throughout the state of reliable individuals who could be trusted to furnish the Bureau information concerning any subsequent activity in the organization of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE.

A review of local newspaper morgues and files in this office reflect no information concerning any activity on the part of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE since its dissolution in December of 1941.

- P E N D I N G -

61133

UNDEVELOPED LEADS

THE MILWAUKEE OFFICE

AT MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

Will contact [REDACTED]

[REDACTED], in order that the location of the various chapters in the State of Wisconsin may be determined, the identity of the chairmen of these chapters may be learned, as well as active committeemen in these various chapters. Upon learning the identity of these individuals, will conduct appropriate investigation to select therefrom a sufficient number of reliable individuals of unquestioned American background to act as informants relative to the possible use of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE organization, along the lines suggested by the Bureau in this investigation.

b7c

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION 12147

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **CHICAGO, ILLINOIS**

S.A. FILE NO. 100-1254

REPORT MADE AT SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS	DATE WHEN MADE 5-28-42	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 5-24, 25, 26, 27-42	REPORT MADE BY <div style="background-color: black; height: 1.2em; width: 100%;"></div>
TITLE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE			CHARACTER OF CASE INTERNAL SECURITY - G.
<p>SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:</p> <div style="float: right; text-align: right; font-size: small;">ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.</div> <div style="clear: both;"></div> <p>Investigation reflects no activity of America First Committee in San Antonio area.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">- R U C -</p> <p><u>REFERENCE:</u> Bureau letter dated 3-16-42. Bureau teletype dated 5-11-42. Bureau teletype dated 5-26-42.</p> <p><u>DETAILS:</u> <u>AT SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS.</u></p> <p>This investigation is predicated upon receipt of Bureau letter dated March 16, 1942, requesting a report on the present activity of the America First Committee in this area.</p> <p><div style="background-color: black; width: 200px; height: 1.2em; display: inline-block;"></div> whose identity is known to the Bureau, made known his files and stated that his confidential informants reports reflect no activity of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE organization in the San Antonio area recently and that so far there have been no attempts to revive the meetings of this organization in this area. <div style="background-color: black; width: 150px; height: 1.2em; display: inline-block;"></div> will advise the San Antonio field division of any new developments that may come to his attention.</p> <p><div style="background-color: black; width: 200px; height: 1.2em; display: inline-block;"></div> whose identities are known to the Bureau, report that they have heard of no attempt to revive the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE organization in San Antonio and that they will inform the San Antonio field division of any activity of this organization that comes to their attention. They advised that they had previously reported one</p> <div style="position: absolute; left: 20px; top: 300px; transform: rotate(-90deg); font-weight: bold;">COPIES DESTROYED 3/24/68</div> <div style="position: absolute; left: 20px; top: 380px; font-size: small;">Classified by SP8BSC/KC Declassify on: OADR 10-18-90</div>			
APPROVED AND FORWARDED <div style="text-align: center;">MURPHY JUN 15 1942</div>		SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE <div style="text-align: center;">DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES</div> <div style="font-size: 2em; font-weight: bold; text-align: center;">100-4912-392</div> <div style="text-align: center; font-weight: bold;">MAY 30 1942</div> <div style="background-color: black; width: 100px; height: 20px; margin: 0 auto;"></div> <div style="text-align: right; font-weight: bold;">RECORD & INDEX b7c</div>	
COPIES OF THIS REPORT <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"><div>5 - Bureau 2 - Chicago 3 - San Antonio</div><div style="text-align: center;">CONFIDENTIAL</div></div>			

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[REDACTED] and one [REDACTED] as very active members of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE organization. They stated that they knew these two persons personally and would contact them to find out if they were in possession of information relating to any activity of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE in the San Antonio area. b7c

[REDACTED] his records reflect no activity of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE in the San Antonio area and stated that to his knowledge this organization locally has been dead and inactive for quite some time. He stated that he would immediately inform the San Antonio field division if any new activity or attempts to revive this organization locally is made. b7c

- REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

16933

This Case Originated At
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

File No. 100-2263

Report Made At Date Made Period Report Made By
CHARLOTTE, N.C. 5-27-42 4-11,25;
5-13,15,18,
20-42 [REDACTED] b7c

Title: : Character of Case:
: :
: :
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE. : INTERNAL SECURITY - G
: :
: :

Synopsis: America First Committee never active in Charlotte Field Division. [REDACTED] b7c
Pinehurst, North Carolina, believes that [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] New York City, was formerly active in America First Committee and is presently active in the Constitutional Educational League which she considers a reformed America First Committee. } no previous [REDACTED]

RUC

REFERENCE: Bureau letter dated March 16, 1942.

DETAILS: A review of the files of the Charlotte Field Division failed to reveal any information indicating that the America First Committee was ever active in this Division. This review failed to reveal the name of a single individual who was a known former member of the America First Committee.

Subsequent to the receipt of the letter of reference the following [REDACTED] were discreetly interviewed by Agents of the Charlotte Office for the purpose of determining whether they had received any information in the past relative to the America First Committee being active in their communities: b2D

Edmond Scherst Special Agent
in Charge

Copies
5 Bureau 2 New Haven
2 Milwaukee 2 New York
2 Chicago 2 Charlotte

100 - 4712 - 393

MAY 29 1942

2 JUN

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[REDACTED]
Raleigh, North Carolina

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[REDACTED]
Wilmington, North Carolina

[REDACTED]
Durham, North Carolina

[REDACTED]
Asheville, North Carolina

[REDACTED]
Asheville, North Carolina

[REDACTED]
Greensboro, North Carolina

[REDACTED]
Greenville, South Carolina

b7c
b7D

The above mentioned contacts were made without developing any information concerning the America First Committee.

The following investigation was conducted by Special Agent [REDACTED] on May 13, 1942:

[REDACTED] Pinhurst, North Carolina, advised that a [REDACTED] New York City, on or about December 3, 1941, sent a number of pamphlets to her mother at Pinhurst, North Carolina; that inside one of these pamphlets there was a list of the enemies of the United States which included names of numerous individuals in Washington, D. C. She stated that one of the pamphlets contained the lineage of the ROOSEVELT family; that she recalled that another one referred to the curse of the Communists in the South; and that still another contained comments which, in her opinion, justified HITLER'S action. She stated that the pamphlets in question were published by the Constitutional Educational League, Inc., and that it was her opinion that this organization was established by former members of the America First Committee, her opinion being based on the fact that

b7

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the pamphlets in question were very similar to those formerly distributed by the America First Committee; and further, because most of them contained a number of quotations from speeches made by CHARLES AUGUSTUS LINDBERGH.

[REDACTED] further stated that the pamphlets received by her mother on December 3, 1941, had been destroyed. She stated that [REDACTED] owned a home [REDACTED] and that while she was not personally acquainted with this individual, she supposed that he was acquainted with her and her family and had consequently placed their names on the mailing list.

[REDACTED] further stated that during the latter part of March, 1942, she received a pamphlet entitled, "Why Win The War," which publication reflects that the national headquarters of the Constitutional Educational League, Inc., are at 831 Chapel Street, New Haven, Connecticut, with New York Headquarters at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City, and midwest headquarters at Madison, Wisconsin, in the Pioneer Building. In addition to this pamphlet, [REDACTED] received a blank for enrollment in the Constitutional Educational League, Inc., and a petition to the President of the United States, and that these pamphlets aroused her to such an extent that on April 2, 1942, she directed a rather lengthy letter to [REDACTED] the first paragraph of which reads as follows:

" It is difficult for me to understand why you selected first my Mother as the recipient of that fine batch of trouble-making isolationist pamphlets you mailed her last December, and now my late husband, for this latest hash of seditious, garbled sentiments. I can think of nothing he ever did or said which would lead you believe that he would be remotely interested in the efforts of a reformed America First to reinstate itself with a thoroughly disgusted public. Perhaps you do not know that at a meeting of Fight for Freedom he quoted passages from the ones you sent, with devastating effect? In fact I consider it an insult that his name should be on your mailing list. Please remove it. "

[REDACTED] further stated that she subsequently received a letter from [REDACTED] which reads as follows:

" I am sorry that you feel offended because of the literature received from me. However, I want to assure you that it was sent with the best intentions on the assumption that being good Americans, you people would naturally be interested in really winning the war and at the same defending and preserving the American System of Society and Government which has done so much for so

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" many of us in Pinchurst and Southern Pines; and, in fact, all over the length and breadth of Our United States of America. I will, of course, respect your wishes and you will not receive any further literature.

Because of your evident sincerity, I am writing to correct a mistaken impression on your part, so that you will not continue to labor under your apparent misapprehension.

To infer that the Constitutional Educational League, Inc., is responsible for the state or condition of our unpreparedness is unjust and not true, because that organization is composed largely of veterans of the last World War including many leaders in the American Legion which has been in the Forefront of the Fight to keep Our Nation prepared for War. The Constitutional Educational League, Inc was for many years an active promoter of the Citizens Military Training Camps and more than that, it has never taken AN ISOLATION-IST POSITION.

I am glad and happy to learn that you are all for the work of The Dies Committee and The Federal Bureau of Investigation, because so am I, and so is The Constitutional Educational League, Inc., as evidenced by the attitude it takes in its literature and more than that the League's stand on the matter of Communism and Russia is identical with the views expressed by Congressman Martin Dies.

There has been so much propaganda in connection with Russia coming out of Washington that I can readily understand why you- and many other good Americans-are slightly confused on THE REAL ISSUE. We are told that the Russian Communists just hate the American Communists. We are told that there is no connection whatever between the American Communists and the Russian Communists. We are told that Russia is no longer a COMMUNIST DICTATORSHIP. If all of this is so, then surely there can be no objection from 'Capitalistic' Mr. Stalin, or from 'Democratic' Russian People to action which we may take to prevent the Spread of COMMUNISM IN OUR UNITED STATES.

To suggest that criticism of Communists in high places in Our Government-who are responsible for deadly inefficiency and destructive disunity-will create friction and discourage Soviet Russia in her war effort, is utter and pure NONSENSE. Stalin's recent 'Order of the Day' to the Red Army definitely indicated that the Communists are not going to Fight for the 'Four Freedoms' everywhere in the world, but are solely concerned with the job of driving the Germans and their Armies across the Russian Border back to Germany, and it is certain that they will not be swerved

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in this determination regardless of what we may or may not do.

It is very evident that unless we get the use of Russian bases such as Vladivostok, we may have a very difficult time doing any effective bombing of Japan. But, we have now been at war with Japan for over four months and our ally, Soviet Russia, has not only failed to make such bases available, but has, in no uncertain language, indicated that she intends to confine herself to the job of defeating the Nazi invaders. And now, at the height of Our War with Japan, our Ally Russia makes a treaty with Japan—a friendly treaty with OUR ENEMY.

In spite of the Constitutional Educational League's distaste for Russian Communism, the booklet about which you complain agrees that the United States must give Russia any and every possible assistance to help her win a military victory over Our Common Enemy, HITLER. The booklet makes no criticism of Russia's scheme of government as such, but there is no earthly reason why the Constitutional Educational League, Inc and all other Good Americans should not take steps to insure the success of Our Own War Effort by eliminating incompetent COMMUNISTS AND THEIR SATELLITES from POSITIONS OF POWER IN OUR WAR PROGRAM.

I want to assure you that the publishers of 'Why Win the War' do not presume to be 'Arm-chair Strategists'. They have made no suggestions as to how the Army or Navy are to go about winning the War. They are merely a little more realistic than a great many people when they point out that the Army and Navy cannot win unless they have something to fight and WIN WITH.

While I have failed to find anything that might be considered 'Jingoistic' in the pamphlet published by The League, I am in full agreement with you that Our ENERGY SHOULD BE CONCENTRATED IN WINNING THE WAR. It is precisely for this reason that I am doing what I can to arouse public opinion so as to prevent the energies that should be devoted to winning the war from being misdirected to stimulate and perpetuate 'A CLASS WAR'. Whether or not Our American System will be saved after the war will depend entirely on the kind of men who happen to be in control at that time. I do not think Our Country's previous state, which you described as 'Selfish, Narrow, Nationalism' will have anything to do with it.

Neither the League, as I understand it, nor myself are adverse to any necessary effort that will lead to international cooperation.

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" But we are concerned and would be suspicious of any scheme promoted by Marxians which would impair or destroy Our Constitutional Republic.

Very truly yours

/s/ [REDACTED]

P.S. North Carolina Address;-[REDACTED]

P.P.S. It may interest you that both at my Pinchurst NC. Estate and Apartment in NYCity. I have the U.S.A. British Union Jack, and Canadian Flags on my fireplace mantlepieces. I believe in the team. b7c b7d

[REDACTED] pointed out that she, in her letter, accused [REDACTED] of being a member of a reformed America First Committee, and that he, in his subsequent letter, did not deny this accusation.

REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN

16939

UNDEVELOPED LEADS

THE NEW YORK FIELD DIVISION:

AT NEW YORK CITY, will determine by an examination of their office records, or by appropriate investigation, whether the Constitutional Educational League is in fact a continuation of the America First Committee.

THE NEW HAVEN FIELD DIVISION:

AT NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT, will conduct the same investigation requested of the New York Field Division.

THE MILWAUKEE FIELD DIVISION:

AT MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN, will conduct the same investigation requested of the New York Field Division.

June 27, 1942

12-393

12146

Agent in Charge
to, North Carolina

RE: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to the report of Special Agent [redacted] dated May 27, 1942, at Charlotte, North Carolina, containing undeveloped leads for the New York, New Haven and Milwaukee Field Divisions. These undeveloped leads were set forth for the purpose of determining whether the Constitutional Educational League is in fact a continuation of the America First Committee. b7c

The Bureau has a voluminous file on the Constitutional Educational League, Inc., [redacted] Et Al., Internal Security - C. This organization was in existence long before the America First Committee was formed and can in no way be considered a continuation of that Committee. b7c

Accordingly, the New York, New Haven and Milwaukee Field Divisions can ignore the leads set forth in reference report.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Tolson _____
E. A. Tamm _____
Clegg _____
Glavin _____
Ladd _____
Nichols _____
Rosen _____
Tracy _____
Carson _____
Coffey _____
Hendon _____
Kramer _____
McGuire _____
Quinn Tamm _____
Nease _____
Gandy _____

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
JUN 29 1942 ★
F. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-18-90 BY SP8BJS/KOL

JUL 1 1942

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAY 27 1942

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 10-18-90 BY SP8BTJ/cal

Mr. Tolson.....
Mr. E. A. Tamm.....
Mr. Clegg.....
Mr. Glavin.....
Mr. Ladd.....
Mr. Nichols.....
Mr. Rosen.....
Mr. Tracy.....
Mr. Carson.....
Mr. Coffey.....
Mr. Egan.....
Mr. Gurnea.....
Mr. Harbo.....
Mr. Hendon.....
Mr. Jones.....
Mr. Quinn Tamm.....
Mr. Nease.....

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FBI MILWAUKEE
DIRECTOR
SLOW. AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, INTERNAL SECURITY - G. REPORT BEING
SUBMITTED TODAY.

5-27-42

3-26 PM

O'CONNOR

RECORDED

100-4712-394

INVESTIGATION

JUN 1 1942

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

END ACK PLS
HOLD PLS
4-30 PM

OK FBI WA

4 JUN 10

EX-9

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **CHICAGO, ILLINOIS.**

FILE NO. **100-1055.**

REPORT MADE AT NEW ORLEANS	DATE WHEN MADE 5-28-42	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 5, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22-42.	REPORT MADE BY [REDACTED] b7c
TITLE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE		CHARACTER OF CASE INTERNAL SECURITY - G.	
SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: <p>America First Committee not known to sources of information and Confidential Informants of the New Orleans office. Indices of the New Orleans office, the newspaper morgue of the Times-Picayune, New Orleans, and the Public Library searched but no information concerning subject organization in this district. According to Confidential Informants at [REDACTED] b7c</p> <p>Inquiries in this connection negative. (c)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">- R U C -</p> <p>Reference: Letter from Bureau to all Special Agents in Charge dated 3-16-42; Teletype from Bureau to all Special Agents in Charge dated 5-11-42.</p> <p>Details: <u>AT NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA:</u></p> <p>The indices of the New Orleans Field Office were examined but nothing was contained therein that would indicate the existence of the America First Committee in the state of Louisiana.</p> <p>[REDACTED] b7c</p>			
APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <i>R. A. L...</i>		DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES	
COPIES OF THIS REPORT: 5 Bureau 2 Chicago 2 Detroit 2 New Orleans		100-4712-395 JUN 1 1942 RECORDED & INDEXED Classified by SP8 BSK/CL Declassify on: OADR 18-18-90	

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[REDACTED]

(c) [

[REDACTED]

and

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b7D [REDACTED] advised that no information has come to their attention concerning a speaker for the America First Committee. These informants advised further that to their knowledge such an organization as the America First Committee does not exist in the state of Louisiana. They stated too that they know of no representatives of this organization nor of any persons who are affiliated in any way with this organization in this district.

[REDACTED] whose identity is known to the Bureau, reported that he had no information concerning the America First Committee and knew of no affiliates with this organization in the state of Louisiana.

[REDACTED] and [REDACTED] reported that no information whatever has come to their attention concerning the existence or activities of the America First Committee in the city of New Orleans or in the state of Louisiana. They reported that no literature or publications of the America First Committee have come to their attention and know of no persons in the city of New Orleans or elsewhere who might be associated in any way with subject organization. They advised, however, that they would be alert for any information relative thereto in the future and should any information concerning the activities of this organization come to their attention they would immediately notify the writer.

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The files of the newspaper morgue of the Times-Picayune, 615 North Street, New Orleans, were examined but nothing was contained therein concerning any information whatever as to the existence or any activity of the America First Committee in the city of New Orleans or state of Louisiana.

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b7D
[redacted] and [redacted] both of whom are very well known and have a wide acquaintance in New Orleans and in other sections of the state of Louisiana, advised that to their knowledge there was no such organization as the America First Committee in existence in the state of Louisiana. They advised further that they knew of no person or persons representing this organization or anyone affiliated therewith in the state of Louisiana.

[redacted] a person of standing and who is well known in the state of Louisiana, advised that to his knowledge there is no such organization as the America First Committee in the state of Louisiana, nor did he know of any representative of the organization in the state of Louisiana.

The indices of the New Orleans Public Library, 1051 St. Charles Avenue, were examined but nothing could be found concerning this organization in the state of Louisiana. However, from an article in the June, 1942, issue of the American Mercury, Volume 54, No. 217, entitled, "Inside The America First Movement", by JOHN RAY CARLSON, the following is quoted:

"..... In Detroit and Philadelphia, the Reverend Gerald L. K. Smith has spoken at tumultuous rallies of the Committee. Smith is a former member of Pelley's Silver Shirt Legion, a militarist organization based on the Nazi model. Smith was an associate of Huey P. Long and has collaborated with Father Coughlin"

It may be noted that the Reverend GERALD L. K. SMITH, a former pastor of the King's Highway Church at Shreveport, Louisiana, left Louisiana in 1937 to take up residence in Detroit, Michigan, where he is residing at the time. He returned to Louisiana in 1940 for a very short time to assist in the campaign of EARL LONG for the Governorship of Louisiana.

Investigation being conducted relative to SMITH will be reported in the file on that subject in which Detroit is origin.

- REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN -

**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET**

Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

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Section 552

Section 552a

☐ (b)(1)

☐ (b)(7)(A)

☐ (d)(5)

☒ (b)(2)

☐ (b)(7)(B)

☐ (j)(2)

□ (b)(3)

☒ (b)(7)(C)

□ (k)(1)

☒ (b)(7)(D)

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☐ (b)(7)(E)

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☐ (b)(6)

☐ (k)(7)

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100-4712-395 in p. 4

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X FOR THIS PAGE X
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **CHICAGO, ILLINOIS**

JUNEAU FILE NO. **100-846**

REPORT MADE AT Juneau, Alaska	DATE WHEN MADE 5/25/42	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 3/31/42; 4/21/42; 5/6/42	REPORT MADE BY [REDACTED] b7c
TITLE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE			CHARACTER OF CASE INTERNAL SECURITY - G

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: America First Committee organized in Juneau, Alaska in June 1941 but after one meeting at which the group decided to affiliate with the America First Committee rather than American Peace Mobilization no further activity noted. No evidence of underground movement of subject organization in Alaska.

RUC

REFERENCE: Bureau letter dated March 16, 1942.

DETAILS: AT JUNEAU, ALASKA

On May 30, 1941 an open public meeting was held at Juneau, Alaska to form a unit of the American Peace Mobilization group. The general subject matters discussed at this meeting were protests against war and a possibility of the United States becoming involved in European conflicts and to ridicule the possibility of invasion by a European power. The horrors of war were discussed, as was the effect of war upon trade unionism and the general topic of war profits made by "the rich". Some discussion was had relative to whether the mass meeting was a joint meeting of the America First Committee and the American Peace Mobilization. Also discussion was had as to whether the group should affiliate with the America First Committee or the American Peace Mobilization. Although the persons primarily interested

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APPROVED AND FORWARDED: *[Signature]*

SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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 1 ONI Juneau

100-4712-396

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b7c

100-846

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
INTERNAL SECURITY - G

in calling the meeting were apparently mainly interested in an American Peace Mobilization organization, the meeting adjourned without any definite action taken as to which group would be chosen and it was decided that the group should re-convene the following week.

The second meeting was held on June 6, 1941 at the Union Hall, Juneau, Alaska, at which meeting the merits of the America First Committee and those of the American Peace Mobilization were discussed, with neither side appearing to know a great deal concerning the purposes of either organization. The matter was put to a vote and the result of the vote was decidedly in favor of the group affiliating with the America First Committee rather than the American Peace Mobilization. A committee of three was appointed and plans were to be formulated to organize similar groups in other parts of Alaska. Future meetings were to be called by the committee appointed. However, to date no further meetings have been called or held and there is no indication that this organization ever functioned in Alaska after the second meeting on June 6, 1941 at Juneau, Alaska. No known attempts were made in other parts of the Territory of Alaska to organize an America First group.

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With reference to Bureau letter dated March 16, 1942, concerning the America First organization, [redacted] was contacted. It is noted that [redacted] and [redacted] has made the statement to an Agent of the Juneau Office that he was a firm believer in the America First Committee. [redacted] was an isolationist prior to the time the United States entered the war but since the declaration of war has expressed his desire to see all effort possible made to defeat the Axis powers. It is felt that if the America First group was endeavoring to re-organize either openly or underground, [redacted] would be aware of this fact and further, that he would truthfully advise whether or not such a movement had started.

He advised that he had not heard anything concerning a re-organization of the America First group in Alaska. He added that it was his impression that this organization had disbanded in the States and was no longer functioning. However, he stated that he still feels that there is plenty of isolationist sentiment in the United States and he said that in his opinion there is little doubt but what the America First group will again organize. From conversation had with [redacted] it was gathered that he considered a re-organization in an open manner as it was prior to the declaration of war.

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AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
INTERNAL SECURITY - G

[REDACTED] stated that he feels that everyone, whether they were isolationists before the war or not, should now forget any views they held prior to the war and give all possible support to the Government of the United States in the war effort. He added that if after the war they desired to go back to their isolationist views it is perfectly all right but that during the time of actual war they should forget these views.

[REDACTED] stated that he has not heard any comments in Juneau concerning subject organization since the time when the attempts were made to establish it in Juneau in June, 1941. In his opinion the organization in Alaska is completely defunct.

In conclusion [REDACTED] stated that should he hear any reports concerning the re-organization of the America First Committee in Alaska he would advise the Juneau Office of such facts.

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[REDACTED] was interviewed relative to the America First group. He stated that he has heard of no activity of this organization since the second meeting in June, 1941. He stated that he has no knowledge of any activities of such group subsequent to the meeting of June and has heard no rumors or reports in recent months that any effort was being made to re-organize. He expressed the opinion that this group never would get completely organized in Alaska and feels certain that there is no such organization at the present time.

[REDACTED] advised that he had no information indicating that the America First Committee was again attempting to organize in Juneau. He stated that he has heard no one mention this organization in recent months and believes it had died out completely after the second meeting was held in June, 1941.

[REDACTED] advised, as stated above, that at the second meeting which was held in June, 1941, the persons attending the mass meeting decided to affiliate with the America First Committee rather than the American Peace Mobilization. However, after the second meeting no information came to his attention indicating that the America First Committee functioned in any manner and he feels that the organization was defunct. [REDACTED] advised that he has heard no rumor and knows of no information indicating the America First Committee is again attempting to organize in Juneau.

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It will be noted that at no place in the Territory of Alaska except Juneau has any information been received that the America First Committee endeavored to organize. It is felt that either one or all of the above informants would be aware of an attempted re-organization of the America First Committee in Juneau if such were the case.

From information gathered concerning the meetings held in Juneau, it appears somewhat doubtful whether the organization in Juneau ever actually became affiliated with the national group of subject organization inasmuch as the movement in Juneau appeared to completely cease after the second meeting.

In view of the absence of evidence of the existence of an underground America First Movement in Alaska, this case is being referred upon completion to the Office of Origin. In the event information is obtained indicating activity on the part of subject organization, further investigation will be conducted.

REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN

XXXXXX
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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

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100-4712-396 in p. 5

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Vol. 1

Case Originated At: CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

File: 100-668

Place made at	Date when made	Period		
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS	5-29-42	4-6, 9, 22, 5-1, 4-7, 21, 22, 25/42	[REDACTED]	[REDACTED] b7C
Title				
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE	INTERNAL SECURITY (C)			

Synopsis of Facts:

Subject organization issued press release announcing dissolution December 11, 1941 and all activities suspended shortly thereafter. The membership lists and files in the Chapters throughout the country were called into National headquarters. These were split up and taken by Gen. ROBERT E. WOOD, National Chairman, Gen. THOMAS F. HAMMOND, Chairman Chicago Committee, and JANEL AYER FAIRBANK, Director of Chicago Chapter. No National meetings have been held since December 15, 1941.

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10-18-90
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 4-3-96 BY 9802 JBL/STP

Investigation reveals that several radical groups urged its members to join America First prior to dissolution; this included the German-American National Alliance of whom more than 600 members were members of the America First, Chapter, Chicago. Some local chapters of America First have continued meetings and have allied themselves with related groups. There have been plans made to weld those groups and former members of America First who are still opposed to the war effort into a United Peace Front, which effort has

Approved and
Forwarded

Topics of this report

- 5-Bureau 8-Chicago
2-New York
2-Newark-(Inf)
2-Seattle (Inf)
2-Wash. Field (Inf)

4712-397

JUN 1 1942

RECEIVED
JUN 1964

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not been successful to date. [REDACTED]

-P-

b3
(Rule 6e, Federal
Rules of Criminal
Procedure)

REFERENCE: Bureau letter to all Field Division dated March 16, 1942
Report of Special Agent [REDACTED], New York City,
dated May 13, 1942.

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DETAILS: At Chicago, Illinois.

The America First Committee was incorporated in the State of Illinois, September 19, 1940. Its National Headquarters were located at Room 1806, Board of Trade Building, Chicago. From a statement of the National Committee of the America First Committee issued December 11, 1941, it was stated that the America First Committee was organized in the summer of 1940 with two primary objectives:

1. An impregnable defense for our nation.
2. Avoidance of involvement in the European and Asiatic war.

From the America First Committee bulletin #691, issued November 19, 1941, a copy of which bulletin was furnished to the Chicago Field Office by [REDACTED] the following named persons are listed as being members of the National Committee as of the abovementioned date.

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SAMUEL HOPKINS ADAMS
CHESTER BOWLES
OTTO A. CASE
DR. A. J. CARLSON
WILLIAM R. CASTLE
MRS. BENNETT CHAP CLARK
IRVIN S. COBB
JANET AYER FAIRBANK
MRS. ELLEN FRENCH VANDERBILT FITZSIMONS
JOHN T. FLYNN
GEN. THOMAS HALGOND
J. Y. C. HORNEL
WILLIAM L. HUTCHESON
GEN. HUGH S. JOHNSON

CLAY JUDSON
CHARLES A. LINDBERGH
ALICE ROOSEVELT LONGWORTH
FRANK O. LOWDEN
HARFORD M.C. NIDER
CLARENCE M. NION
MRS. JOHN P. MARQUAND
GREGORY M. SON
ROY MC KATG
WILLIAM H. (ALF. ALF. HILL) MURRAY
KATHLEEN NORRIS
J. SANFORD OTIS
GEORGE N. PEEK
ISAC A. PENNYACKER

AMOS R.E. PINCHOT
WILLIAM H. REGNERY
MRS. RUTH HANNA MC CORLICK SIMMS
HARRY L. STUART
R. DOUGLAS STUART, JR.

LOUIS J. TOBER
EDWARD S. WEBSTER, JR.
MRS. BURTON K. WHEELER
DR. GEORGE H. WHIPPLE
GEN. ROBERT E. WOOD

The Chicago and Illinois Chapters of the America First Committee maintained headquarters at 122 South Michigan. The following were officers of the Chicago Chapter:

GENERAL THOMAS HAMMOND--Chairman
JANET AYER FAIRBANK--Vice President and Director
CORNELIUS HOWE--Secretary
GEORGE A. BANNEY, JR.,--Treasurer

[REDACTED] furnished the following
pertaining to the organization of the Chicago and Illinois Chapters as
obtained from [REDACTED]

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"The Chicago and Illinois Chapters of the America First Committee, opened headquarters January 1, 1941 in the Railway Exchange Building. In three weeks we required more space and moved to the present headquarters at 122 South Michigan.

"The office operates with a minimum force consisting of :

Chairman Speakers Bureau
2 men - Publicity
Switchboard operator
Bookkeeper
Stockman
Statistical and filing clerk
Secretary of Chapter Organization
Secretary to Mrs. Fairbank

"In the nine months that the Chicago and Illinois Chapter has operated, we have had 167 men and women volunteer their services at our headquarters. A great number of these volunteers are most faithful--some of them girls who work in offices all day donate their services in the evening. Through their efforts we have been able to carry on our work with a minimum office force.

Postage and printing have been the two largest items of expenditure. The Chicago Chapter has printed and distributed --

373,150 copies of speeches
980,300 instructive pamphlets and circulars
336,300 display pieces (buttons, posters and stickers)
405,200 letters to members and prospective members
599,000 mimeographed instructions and bulletins
for members."

[REDACTED] furnished a list of the Illinois Chapters and Chairman as of October 17, 1941. Because of its length, the entire list is not being set forth but copies are being prepared and will be forwarded to the Bureau as soon as completed. A review of the list reflects the following Chapters located in the City of Chicago. b2
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<u>CHAPTER</u>	<u>CHAIRMAN</u>
Austin	DENNIS W. SCULLY [REDACTED]
Belmont	MRS. NOEL HUNT [REDACTED]
Christopher Columbus 746 South Loomis	PETER GREENFIELD
Edgewater	MRS. WILLIAM WESTERLUND [REDACTED]
Hyde Park 1328 E. 57th St.	DR. FRED L. ADAIR
Logan Square	MRS. MATHILDA ELOFSON [REDACTED]
Loyola 6519 Sheridan Road	LOUIS GWENS
Morgan Park	MRS. GRACE LEWIS [REDACTED]
Rogers Park	HENRY J. BERENZ [REDACTED]
South Shore	DONALD E. HORTON [REDACTED]
South Side 3452 South State Street	VAL WASHINGTON

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Christopher Columbus, Hyde Park, Loyola, and South Side
Chapters maintained open headquarters at the addresses as listed.

[REDACTED]

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Because of its length, it is not being set forth in
full but a copy is being prepared and will be forwarded to the Bureau
when completed.

[REDACTED] furnished a report
[REDACTED] This is set forth as follows:

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

Photostatic copies [REDACTED] are being prepared and will be forwarded to the Bureau when completed. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Photostatic copies [REDACTED] are being prepared and will be forwarded to the Bureau when completed.

The files of all sub-divisions and Chapters of subject organization throughout the country were called in by the National Office. [REDACTED] has advised that there was a very good response to this request. The investigation to date has failed to reveal any indication that the structure of America First, has in any way, been used by foreign interests or individuals cooperating with foreign interests. There is no indication that any responsible leaders of America First has, to date, made available any of the membership lists, not formerly America First members. There have been a few local Chapters, as will be set forth later in this report, who have reportedly made available lists and pledged cooperation to certain radical groups but these have been isolated instances and in the opinion of persons interviewed, represent only a minute minority of the total membership of subject organization.

It was also the opinion of persons interviewed that the large majority of the rank and file membership of America First and most all of the leaders were sincere and honest isolationists. However, it has been reported that some of the leaders of America First charged with maintenance of the file and who held responsible positions in the organization, contemplate political activity in the future with the organization as it was left, and have since December 11th taken steps in this regard. The following is set forth to show the political activities and possible future plans of these persons.

During the month prior to Pearl Harbor, [REDACTED] advised that serious contemplation was given by America First leaders to the formation of a political party to campaign for isolationist candidates. He advised that they adopted a slogan, "We'll meet you at the Polls". In this connection, he furnished a copy of a communication over the signature of R. E. WOOD, Chairman, which is set forth as follows:

"Our increasing national strength was clearly demonstrated by the vote in the House of Representatives on revision of the neutrality act. A shift of ten votes would have defeated the bill. Those voting with us represented more than 50 per cent of the voters of the United States.

"With this achievement it is important to consider our program for the future. I am calling a meeting of the National Committee on November 28. For that meeting we would like to have the views of our Chapter Chairman on their concept of our future course.

"Probably the most significant decision confronting the Committee will be the question of whether the America First Committee and its chapters should undertake a broad program of non-partisan political support (in the primaries and general elections of 1942) for those members of Congress who have placed "patriotism above politics". Thus our organization would support those men - Democrats or Republicans - who have courageously opposed the administration's war policy.

"By November 25 we would like to have your considered judgment as to the best future program for the America First Committee. You will undoubtedly have time to consult with the members of your Executive Committee so that your letter will reflect the views of your Chapter. All thoughts will be welcome but I suggest that you submit in separate form those dealing with the non-partisan political program.

"Once again I would like to express our appreciation for the gallant fight made by your chapter against repeal of the neutrality act.

Sincerely,

R.E. WOOD"

Enclosed with this letter, presumably addressed to Chairman of the various Chapters, was a list of the Congressmen who had voted against the repeal of the neutrality act.

In view of the efforts being made in November 1941 to form a new political party, and as will be set forth hereinafter in this report, the opinion of several persons interviewed that the leaders of America First will, in all probability, endeavor to form a new political party with the former members of America First as a nucleus, it is deemed important to set forth the activities of the America First Committee in detail just prior to December 7, 1941. [REDACTED] who was in close contact with the activities of subject organization and its members furnished the following information concerning these activities.

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From a report dated November 22, 1941, the following is set forth:

"My man tells me there is a slight difference of opinion between MRS. JANET AYER FAIRBANK and GENERAL WOOD these days. GENERAL WOOD wants to hold a joint rally of America First and sub organization as "We, The Mothers" and WILLIAM J. MACE(S "Citizens Keep America Out of War Committee". MRS. FAIRBANK opposes it as she considered those groups 'the rabble' and in no way to be recognized by the America First openly as equals.

"My man tells me that a number of halls in Chicago are now shy about renting their premises to the America First for meetings and rallies. This, he says, goes for the managements of the Coliseum, the International Amphitheatre, the arena, and even Orchestra Hall, the latter is known to have quite a few pro-Hazis and America Firsters on its staff.

"Transformation of the America First Committee into a political party is being actively pushed by GENERAL WOOD. No new resignations have occurred from the America First topnotch ranks but those who had resigned in September and October insist that their names not be used in any way. Apparently, they threaten unpleasant publicity should their wishes be disregarded. My man tells me that the family of some of those individuals who have resigned continue to contribute money into America First."

From the report for the week ending November 29, 1941, furnished by [REDACTED] the following is set forth: b1
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"The highlight of the week just passed was the meeting of the National Executive Committee. Early in the week, my man turned over to me a letter from GENERAL ROBERT E. WOOD to Chapter Heads inviting their opinions "on the non-partisan political support" which America First is to give at the polls in 1942 to all those candidates who are or will be against this country's foreign policy. These opinions were to be in by November 25, preliminary to the National Executive Committee meeting called in Chicago for November 28.

"The meeting was held Friday the 28th, in the home of CLAY JUDSON, member of the Executive Committee and PAGE HUFTY, employed by America First, at [REDACTED]. The meeting lasted from 1:00 to 5:30 p.m. and the main decision was to plunge the America First Committee into the political activity under the guise of 'non-partisan political support' at the polls to 'the right man' in both parties. Much money will be spent in each precinct in the country and will eventually there will be a captain and his assistant carrying out America First orders. It is felt that the middlewest b7c

is the easiest place to start the new program and that it may be enough to pickoff two or three congressman for their pro-Roosevelt stand to begin with--this will frighten many other congressman and senators into abandoning the President.

"The decision was to be 'dirty' in all the future political work (not that the America First Committee has been clean in its methods so far, but you can well imagine how much dirtier these will become). The preliminary work is to start right now, but the main drive is to be opened after January 1. Legal steps are to be taken at once to allow America First this new plunge into the poll work. This precaution may well be the result of America First leaders' uneasy regard for certain obscure clauses of the Hatch Act.

"EARL JEFFRIES was recently brought to work in the America First offices as a specialist in just such political work. Certain leaders, notably, MRS. JANET AYER FAIRBANK, thought highly of him and his worth to America First in the new work at the polls. Thus, it comes as a considerable surprise to learn from my man that a few days ago GENERAL WOOD sent JEFFRIES a letter of curt dismissal, effective December 1. It is possible that WOOD has far greater plans than JEFFRIES is capable of carrying out. It is also possible that the Sears-Roebuck warrior is trying to get even with MRS. FAIRBANK in a rather petty way. MRS. FAIRBANK, you see, is constantly disagreeing with GENERAL WOOD on the problems of procedure and personnel. She is pestilent on the subject of young ROBBIE--R. DOUGLAS STUART, the national director whom WOOD likes but she jealously dislikes and zealously tries to undermine. The firing of JEFFRIES came as a shock not only to the victim himself, but also to MRS. F. She is now valiantly trying to save his neck! There is even a rumor in the America First offices that at the meeting of the national executive body she tried to appeal to that body over the head of the General.

"On her own, MRS. FAIRBANK has been doing some firing, too. Her victim is ROBERT CAREY, the publicity man in the S. Michigan offices of America First and his assistant or assistants. MRS. FAIRBANK had been for quite some time rather dissatisfied with his work, feeling that she wasn't getting enough local publicity through him. She demanded a report from him, and he submitted one in a blow-my-own-trumpet style (you have by now a copy). MRS. FAIRBANK was not impressed, and fired him and his entire staff, thus saving \$150 per week. In his place, a certain MRS. J. FREDERICK REEVES is now working as MRS. FAIRBANK'S and America First' publicity expert. A niece of COL. MC CORMICK and a volunteer, MRS. REEVES costs America First nothing a week and may indeed bring in much coverage in the local press--not only in the house-organ in the Tower, but also in the Hearst paper, which of late has not been giving America First as great a break as during the first Lend-Lease agitation.

"CAREY is supposed to be a friend of LINDBERGH'S and may appeal, but LINDBERGH will disregard the appeal (so says my man). Incidentally, from another source we learn that LINDBERGH may soon be clearing out of New Jersey as a permanent residence. He is building a house for himself and his family at Seven Gates Farm, Martha's Vineyard, Mass., but at the same time there is definite talk that he will return to Minnesota at least six months before that State's September, 1942, primary in order to establish his legal residence and run for the Senate. It is possible that Martha's Vineyard will be his retreat while Minnesota will serve as his working grounds.

"If the 'meet-you-at-the-polls' policy of America First assumes a third-party aspect, LINDBERGH'S race in Minnesota will be the outstanding feature of its first season. Without any doubt whatsoever the leaders of America First maintain that LINDBERGH will win in Minnesota, and that this will give the third party a tremendous start in life. It is true that American history teaches inevitable failure of every third party that ever came up to bid for power, but America First leaders privately point out that not every major party survived a major political crisis. They feel that the Republican Party may disappear from American life as completely as the Whig Party did, and for approximately the same reason: an internal split. America First leaders feel that the America First Committee may well become the second, not third, party. Such in fact is the main hope and aim in the present plunge of America First into the work at the polls."

From the report of America First for the week ending December 6, 1941 furnished by [REDACTED] the following is set forth.

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"My man tells me that plans to hold a large America First rally in the Stadium sometime between December 14th and Christmas holidays have been abandoned. The December 14th Rally scheduled to take place at Orchestra Hall is expected to be a rather ordinary affair with no big names present but with enough preparatory work put in to insure a full hall, seating capacity close to 3000. Enough Germans and Irish can be counted upon to come down town on Sunday afternoon to spend Sunday afternoon in Orchestra Hall.

NEWTON JENKINS is mentioned in the America First offices as a possible second speaker to share the platform with DEAN MANION of Notre Dame. Some members of the America First staff know the shady past and dubious connections of JENKINS but keep quiet about it, not wishing to contradict the almighty and ever impatient JANET FAIRBANK. She is much in favor of JENKINS, believing him to be a 'lovely, fine personality'.

The America First leaders claim they have 6000 members in the Stockyards District, mainly Italians but some Germans, too, and they have been organized, according to JANET AYER FAIRBANK and GENERAL WOOD, for the coming political 'meet-you-at-the-polls' campaign. The activities of NEWTON JENKINS and the organization known as the United Community Builders has come to the attention of the Chicago Field Division and has been made the subject of a pending investigation.

From the Chicago Daily News dated December 3, 1941, the following clipping was secured.

"PLANS TO REVAMP AMERICA FIRST TOLD BY WOOD

A reorganization plan transforming America First into an active political agency in the pattern of major political parties has been outlined by Brig. Gen. ROBERT E. WOOD, retired, Chairman of the committee.

"Clarifying its program for the 1942 elections, WOOD said "a corporation will be set up in conformity with national election laws."

"As a nonprofit corporation we cannot now contribute to political campaigns," WOOD said. He reiterated that America First had no intention of becoming a 'third party'.

"We'll be something like the old Anti-Saloon League", he said, 'supporting a Republican here, a Democrat there and perhaps a Progressive. It depends upon their foreign policy stand entirely'.

"One of the candidates the committee will back for re-election, it was announced, will be Senator C. WAYLAND BROOKS."

Following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor December 7, 1941, the National Committee, issued the following statement dated December 11, 1941 announcing the dissolution of subject organization. This statement was furnished by [REDACTED] and is set forth as follows: b2
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"The America First Committee was organized in the summer of 1940 with two primary objectives:

- (1) An impregnable defense for our nation.
- (2) Avoidance of involvement in the European and Asiatic war.

Our principles were right. Had they been followed, war could have been avoided. No good purpose can now be served by considering what might have been, had our objectives been attained.

"On Sunday, December 7, Japan launched an attack upon us.

"On Monday, December 8, Congress declared war on Japan.

"Today, December 11, 1941, Congress declared war on Germany & Italy.

"There is no longer any question about our involvement in the conflict in Europe and Asia. We are at war. Today, though there may be many important subsidiary consideration, the primary objective is not difficult to state. It can be completely defined in one word--victory.

"While the executive branch of the government will take charge of the prosecution of the war, the fundamental rights of American citizens under our Constitution and Bill of Rights must be respected. The long range aims and policies of our country must be determined by the people through Congress. We hope that secret treaties committing America to imperialistic aims or vast burdens in other parts of the world shall be scrupulously avoided to the end that this nation shall become the champion of a just and lasting peace.

"The period of democratic debate on the issue of entering the war is over; the time for military action is here. Therefore, the America First Committee has determined immediately to cease all functions and to dissolve as soon as that can legally be done. And finally, it urges all those who have followed its lead to give their full support to the war effort of the nation, until peace is attained."

[REDACTED] furnished a copy of a letter addressed, JOHN L. WHEELER, [REDACTED] Los Angeles, California, over the signature of ROBERT E. WOOD, Chairman. This letter was dated December 12, 1941 and informed WHEELER that the National Committee had passed a resolution directing that the America First Committee and affiliated sub-divisions be dissolved. He stated that "since its formation in September 1940, the America First Committee has contended that the United States should build an impregnable National Defense and avoid participation in foreign wars. We have held further that a policy of aid to other countries would weaken our own defense and tend to draw us into the conflict. We believe that our principles were right then and are right now. We believe that if the government had followed the policy which we advocated, war could have been avoided and America and the world would have benefited. We make no apologies for the position which we have taken and we firmly believe that history will prove that we are right. We hope that that as individual you will exert you efforts in support of the members of the Senate and House of Representatives who have so bravely carried on this fight."

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A copy of this letter is being prepared and will be forwarded to the Bureau when completed.

Concerning the dissolution meeting of the Executive Committee held on December 11, 1941, [REDACTED] b2 b7D
Furnished the following report.

"My man tells me that today's meeting of the America First National Executive Committee (in PAGE HUFTY'S apartment on North Astor Street) lasted from noon to 6:30 and finally ended in a decision to dissolve the America First Committee.

"The long hours of the meeting are explained by the fact that certain members of the Executive Committee were against dissolving. JANET AYER FAIRBANK and LINDBERGH were for dissolution; R.W. STUART and a few others were against. 'That Nazi STUART', remarked MRS. FAIRBANK to MISS CORNELIA HOWE, her woman Friday in the America First Regional Office.

STUART and other wanted to keep America First afloat in order to have a political weapon during the elections of 1942. MRS. FAIRBANK was--and is--against any activity by the America First from now on.

"My man remarks, (and he had plenty of opportunity to watch her this momentous week), MRS. FAIRBANK is plain scared of what the government may do to her should the America First Committee go on, and above all, should she continue to be associated with it. When certain of the members of the National Executive Committee proposed to dissolve the America First Committee but keep incorporated and intact legally for at least one more year, she protested vigorously, and refused to have anything to do with it. As she is one of the original incorporators, the corporation is expected to be broken up in the near future.

There are practically no funds left in the America First Regional office of MRS. FAIRBANK but a considerable money surplus is known to exist in the National Office. What to do with it is the question. MRS. FAIRBANK patriotically suggested buying a defense bond with it but the other members insist on keeping the money in ready currency. An opinion has been expressed that MRS. FAIRBANK isn't so patriotic after all--that she merely wants this money to collect interest until the spring when the America First Committee is supposed to come out of the impending hibernation in order to take part in the primaries.

All the files are being taken to MRS. FAIRBANK'S home, the wine room in the basement at [REDACTED] b7C
All the employees of the America First Regional Office are to be fired by the middle of next week. It will take longer for the America First National Office to liquidate, perhaps as long as three weeks".

MRS. ELIZABETH LANDA, one of the America First National Office, is rather calm, almost happy, about the dissolution of the America First Committee. She has expressed herself to the effect that since it (the war) had to come, she is glad it came at last, because anyway, "it's the question of either Hitler or Roosevelt and Hitler will win--the sooner, the better".

From a report dated December 10, 1941 entitled "America First After Japanese Attack on United States", a copy of which was furnished by [REDACTED] the following is taken. b2 b7D

"My man tells me that on Monday, December 8, the employees of America First Regional Office reported to work as usual but began at once to take down the signs, such as, "Bundles From Britain", showing coffins with bodies of American soldiers. The process of packing and removal is still going on at this writing and is to continue until the middle or end of the next week when the America First Committee is expected to close. My man stated, "The cards will be used in the Spring when the America First leaders intend to come out again under another name, of course, to get interviews at the polls and for a bang-up political campaign. My man tells me that LINDBERGH did not want to issue his call for unity and did it only after GENERAL WOOD exerted considerable pressure upon him by wire and long distance telephone.

R. DOUGLAS STUART, JR., National Director of the America First Committee, issued a statement, not for publication, right after the Japanese attack. The statement was addressed to heads of Chapters throughout the country. He sent a copy of it to MRS. FAIRBANK who read it with expressions of horror, and her arms up in the air, she exclaimed, "My God, That's treason". She called up GENERAL WOOD to stop the statement before it was mailed out but WOOD said it was too late, the statement had already gone out. We do not know the text or the tone of the STUART statement but MRS. FAIRBANK might have exaggerated her horror of its contents for the simple reason of deep and long-standing animosity for young STUART.

[REDACTED] furnished a report concerning the activities of the New York Chapter of America First dated December 9, 1941. From this report the following is quoted: b2 b7D

"Future Plans for America First

Many of the leaders have already withdrawn. GENERAL WOOD came on yesterday morning and has been negotiating with the New York Committee. As an outcome of that meeting, ED WEBSTER states:

- (1) That the Eastern AFC will close their branch offices.

- (2) They will keep the office at 515 Madison Avenue, but will curtail activities.
- (3) They have called off all impending meetings.
- (4) They have given notice to their paid personnel.
- (5) They will make no further statement until the National Committee statement comes out on December 9.
- (6) They will stall on activities but not close down.

"MRS. ETHEL TAYLOR states that the organization will carry on (1) to defend the American people from being completely dominated by the Communists, and (2) to do everything possible to keep America out of war with Germany.

"WILLIAM T. LEONARD, who headed the Brooklyn Chapter, has swung around completely and now calls for national defense. He stated this morning: "The statement in the Brooklyn Eagle? I believe that is all we could say under the circumstances. Otherwise all of us would have come under suspicion. It would be too bad to come under suspicion in wartime. Naturally ROOSEVELT is guilty of this war - I hope he will now be happy with his bloody toy."

"It is probable that he will be replaced as head of the Brooklyn Chapter by MR. HORACE HALSE, who states: "I have not changed my principles. This war is not our war. There is only one brave man in America - that is Senator NYE. I am simply disgusted with WHEELER. One thing is sure: I am not going. I will try to find a defense job in the Brooklyn Navy Yard. If that goes wrong, I will look for a hide-out somewhere in the country where I can write my book. I want to do something constructive and not destructive. They can put me in prison if they want, but I am not going to be shot in this war. The American people have been tricked into this. They were betrayed by their leaders. It is shameful how WOOD and FLYNN and all the others suddenly changed face. If our ideas were true yesterday, they certainly are true today. I hope LEONARD will resign if he feels as he announced. In that case, I might become chairman of the Chapter. We shall carry on as a political party and keep an eye on the government. When the Roosevelt downfall comes, which must come, then we shall take revenge. I know we will lose this war. It may be good for us. Yesterday MARY WALTZ and I sent telegrams to Congressmen not to vote for war."

[REDACTED] advised that on interview, MRS. J. NET L. YER F. IRBANK had called in several of the former employees in the Regional Office of America First, prior to the First of January, for the purpose of getting the files together to be packed and sent to GENERAL WOOD and GENERAL HAMMOND. The informant advised that GENERAL WOOD received the signature cards and GENERAL HAMMOND was to receive the alphabetical file and that MRS. F. IRBANK was to retain the contributions cards. The informant stated that GENERAL HAMMOND insisted upon the alphabetical file for the alleged reason that it was to be used for political purposes. The informant advised that nearly all of the subdivisions and Chapters throughout the country had responded to the request from the National Office for the return of all files to them. b2 b7D

The informant stated that MRS. F. IRBANK had stated that she would get in touch with several of the former employees at a future date when they got ready to do something in the political line. [REDACTED] further stated that thirty to thirty-five girls had been working at the home of MRS. F. IRBANK copying addresses from the America First membership lists, directly after the local Chapter was closed. This was done with the knowledge and consent of GENERAL HAMMOND and COL. ROBERT MC CORMICK of the Chicago Tribune. MRS. F. IRBANK made the statement that she is having one of her winecellars "rat-proofed" and it was the informant's opinion that this "rat-proof" winecellar is being used to store the contribution cards of subject organization to be used at a future date for political purposes. b2 b7D

[REDACTED] furnished the following report dated December 19, 1941 which is being set forth as follows: b2 b7D

"My man tells me that MRS. J. NET L. YER F. IRBANK has recovered after her recent panic. Once more she is full of fight. According to what she now says to her assistant, the America First Committee may be dissolved but not finished. J. NET decided not to rent her house from January 1 to May 1, as she was planning right after the Japanese attack. She is not going away to Mexico, after all, but staying right here in Chicago to prepare for a political fight in favor of Senator BROOKS, Congressman P. DDOCK, D.Y and other isolationists. Most of the America First files have been moved to MRS. F. IRBANK'S house on North State Street, and orders have been given to start addressing envelopes to 150,000 members of the America First Committee in Illinois, Iowa and Indiana. The America First members will be asked by mail, and later by radio and through rallies, to be for defense yet to vote for those isolationists who will rock re-election in 1942. Interventionist Congressmen and Senators are to be defeated through the same effort.

On Wednesday evening, December 18, MRS. FAIRBANK gave a dinner to her staff--some nine guests in all--and seemed to be in pretty high spirits, especially after a few drinks. Among other things, she said she had to fix up a special room in the basement of her house for the America First files and membership cards, to safeguard them against rats. "The rats in Washington are not the only ones," she remarked semi-gaily, semi-grimly.

"Some of the membership cards have been shipped to the house of CARL HOWE, [REDACTED] Illinois (telephone Euclid 4949). b7c CARL HOWE is the father of CORNELIA HOWE, the chief assistant and trusted friend of MRS. FAIRBANK. MISS HOWE is to do much of the addressing. She won't go West, after all.

"GENERAL ROBERT WOOD decided that he, too, must have a set of those 150,000 names and addresses and sent over boxes of blank cards to be filled with those precious membership rolls. It's an open secret in the circles of the "dissolved" America First Committee that WOOD, too, is going to use those names and addresses for political purposes. The national offices of the America First Committee (Board of Trade Bldg.) are being liquidated but very slowly. My man says: "BOBBIE STUART doesn't want to give in or give up. He just doesn't."

"My man also tells me that GENERAL WOOD, and not CHARLES LINDBERGH, wrote LINDBERGH'S statement of "unity". My man heard this personally from MRS. FAIRBANK. It appears that LINDBERGH did not want to issue such a statement under any circumstances despite all the Pressure WOOD put on him on Monday the 8th. Finally, in near-desperation, WOOD himself wrote the statement and released it to the press as if coming from LINDBERGH although actually LINDBERGH had nothing to do with it. LINDBERGH wants to go ahead with the work of America First but under another name--that is, there should be a new organization of old members. He won't give the Administration in Washington any satisfaction and does not care if Washington knows that he never recanted, that WOOD, not he, wrote and issued that statement for him. This checks with a confidential report I received from New York, where ED WEBSTER, a prominent America Firster, said: "LINDBERGH wants to carry on the fight against 'the Communists in Washington,' and in a few months intends to come out openly for the organization.

Because WOOD presumed to issue that statement for LINDBERGH, and because generally LINDBERGH believes that WOOD and other America-First leaders mismanaged their campaign and missed many opportunities to make hay while their sun shone, LINDBERGH intends to create out of the America First timber an organization of his own and run it strictly by himself, with MRS. FAIRBANK and others taking orders from him. Such is the opinion expressed in the America First circles in Chicago and elsewhere."

Following the dissolution of subject organization all meetings previously scheduled were called off and there have been no official meetings held since December 11, 1941.

[REDACTED]

b7c

[REDACTED]

b7D

[REDACTED] furnished the following report concerning this meeting of MC CORNICK, PATTERSON, LINDBERGH, and WOOD:

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"This much-talked about but little-ascertained meeting took place in Chicago in the middle of March. The exact date is hard to establish, but, as one of my Trib contacts puts it, the four men met shortly after the news of Mac Arthur's escape to Australia was made known in this country. This would make it sometime between March 17 and 20.

JOE PATTERSON was passing through Chicago on his way from Hawaii. LINDBERGH was in town in connection with his taking that job with Henry Ford. PATTERSON, LINDBERGH and MC CORNICK met in the latter's private office on the 24th floor of the Tribune building. Later, the three adjourned to the Chicago Club where GENERAL WOOD joined them.

"The meeting was extremely hush-hush, and nothing is known for certain just what happened in the course of it. However, one man (formerly a foreign correspondent of the Chicago Tribune and still on good terms with certain high executives of the Tribune) tells me the following:

"McCORMICK wanted LINDBERGH to issue a public statement whitewashing the America First Committee as a patriotic organization of which its former members and leaders should not be ashamed, praising MC CORMICK and the Chicago Tribune as a patriotic man and a laudable institution, and, above all, saying a few good words about Senator BROOKS which might be used as LINDBERGH'S endorsement of BROOKS. But LINDBERGH refused to issue such a statement. He said to his host that it would be too obvious a maneuver, and that he would rather be useful in some other way. MC CORMICK did not insist."

"Another man, presently employed by the Tribune in a responsible capacity, said to me that the meeting of the four personages was held to map out the future course of action of the ex-America First leadership. 'The appointment of MAC ARTHUR as supreme commander, just made public, was discussed by the four, who feel that MAC ARTHUR is their man and will do their bidding, although on what they base such an assumption is not known. We around the Trib office feel that MC CORMICK and his friends just 'smell' that MAC ARTHUR is their man, hence the terrific buildup. LINDBERGH'S job with Ford was discussed at that meeting in connection with MAC ARTHUR'S escape and appointment.

And still another man said to me:

"The buildup of LINDBERGH as America's imminent savior was discussed at that meeting in Chicago. You see, by making 25 bombers a day LINDBERGH and FORD will be in a position to claim a super-service to the nation in her hour of trial. Gradually, a press will be built up for LINDBERGH, giving him rather than FORD (with Ford's complete agreement) most if not all the credit for those 25 bombers a day. That's what they discussed at the meeting."

[REDACTED] advised that a meeting was held at the home of MRS. JANET MYER FAIRBANK in the early part of January 1942 and that it was discussed at this meeting, the possibility of using the membership lists of the Illinois and Chicago Chapters amounting to approximately 150,000 names for the purpose of distributing campaign literature in behalf of Senator WAYLAND BROOKS and Congressman STEPHEN ... DAY. He advised that this mailing list was used in December and January and that campaign literature was mailed to the former members of

America First urging these persons to support BROOKS and DAY at the April Primary nominations. He further stated that it has been reported to him that the list will be used again in November of 1942 and that there is a definite feeling that former leaders of America First will come out with the formation of a political party under a different name but with same nucleus as subject organization, in the late summer of 1942.

[REDACTED] advised that CHARLES B. GOODSPEED, President of the Buckeye Steel Casting Corporation and his secretary and friend, MRS. BRECKENRIDGE, both of whom are ardent America Firsters, had been intensively collecting money for the BROOKS campaign. Informant further advised that MRS. BRECKENRIDGE also acts as secretary to GENERAL THOMAS HAMMOND, formerly of the Nation Committee of subject organization, and that HAMMOND had been secretly behind this money collecting campaign. The informant advises that most of the persons contacted by MRS. BRECKENRIDGE and CHARLES B. GOODSPEED were former members of America First as taken from the alphabetical file in the possession of GENERAL HAMMOND. MRS. BRECKENRIDGE is also reported to have said that, when asked about the possibilities of future activity for subject organization, "We'll have something definite to work on in the campaign".

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Prior to December 7, 1941, subject organization by its rapid growth and national publicity, attracted to it many radical groups who, for one reason or another, found in the America First program at least one of the purposes of their own group. Memberships of some of these groups were urged by their own leaders to join America First.

[REDACTED] advised that on several meetings of the German-American National Alliance, PAUL A. F. WARNHOLTZ, Director of Publicity, and WALTER SILGE, former president, had urged the members to join America First. b2 b7D

[REDACTED] has furnished a list to reporting agent of 646 members of the German-American National Alliance who were found to be members of the America First as of November 29, 1941. Copies of this list are being prepared and will be forwarded to the Bureau when completed. b2 b7D

From an article in the American Mercury for January of 1942, the author, JOHN ROY CARLSON, under a story entitled "Inside the America First Movement" on Page 7, which article was written before Pearl Harbor, charges that America First, whether knowingly or not, had become the expression of the American Fascist movement and that though many of the leaders were sincere and honest isolationists, there nevertheless was no real attempt made to purge those who were in the movement who were not sincere and honest isolationists. CARLSON charged that there were astute, unnamed strategists operating behind the scenes and manipulating the central directive nucleus of the America First Committee. He also states that the America First Committee has political aspirations and that the owners, leaders and followers are outshouted, if not outnumbered.

In a sequel to this article one was published in The American Mercury for March 1942 by CARLSON under the heading "Our Fascist Enemies Within" on Page 306, which states that he had previously tried to differentiate between the honest isolationists and the hate-mongering elements acting as agents of foreign nations. From the article the following is quoted:

"Since the dissolution of the America First Committee, the fascist rabble has been obliged to return to its former status -- that of an unorganized, rebellious mass movement without central leadership and without 'respectable' cover for its operations."

At another place in the article, however, CARLSON states that he received a letter post marked December 29 which an ardent America Firster had written to a comrade across the continent as follows:

"For the time being we are in a state of quiescence, waiting for events to shape themselves. The trend of things already is less obscureYou can be sure that very few of those who were with us before have changed their minds -- although they may be cautious for the present."

And another letter which he had received he set forth as follows:

"We have already arranged to resume weekly meetings. We have a lot of ideas, are not in any way terrified and will not pull our punches."

[REDACTED] b7D

Investigation to date has failed to reveal that any new groups have been started in the Chicago area by any of the former leaders of America First. There existed prior to Pearl Harbor several groups which are still active such as ~~the~~ the Mothers Mobilize for America, Inc.", headed by LYRL CLARK Van HYNING and Mrs. GRACE KEEFE; "Patrick Henry Forum" run by MARTIN J. HIGGINS; "Citizens Committee to Keep America Out of War" changed to ~~Citizens Committee~~ following December 7. This committee is headed by WILLIAM J. GRACE and at one time WILLIAM REGNERY, AVERY BRUNDAGE and EARL SOUTHWARD were officers; "Lend to America" started by RALPH L. BYERS; "Midwest Monetary Federation" headed by RALPH FRANKLIN KEELING, JOSEPH E. MacWILLIAMS and WILLIS OVERHOLSER and ALEXIS D. RNOWSKY; and the "Lincoln Park Branch of the America First" headed by ALFRED W. SENHN and CARL SANDS. These groups were active prior to December 7 and have remained active since the declaration of war. They have been reported variously as anti-Semitic, anti-administration and un-American. b3

[REDACTED]

Some of the persons above described took an active interest in America First prior to its dissolution and following war former members have

b3 cited in conjunction with Rule 6e,
Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure

attended these meetings. There is no indication that the responsible leaders of America First have given any support to these groups.

The above named individuals and groups have interchanged speakers and memberships and have become rather closely enmeshed in a so-called peace front. Inasmuch as there is no apparent connection between the responsible officials of subject organization and these groups, their activities are not being set forth in detail in this report.

Prior to September 1941 the Lincoln Park Branch, headed by E. T. KIEHL, [REDACTED] as director and CARL SANDS, Vice-President and HENRY LARSON, Treasurer, was a regularly established branch of the recognized America First Committee. b7c

Because of rational speeches and activities reported concerning this group, the Lincoln Park Branch by letter dated October 9, 1941 over the signature of CLAY JUDSON, National Committee Member, was advised they no longer had authority to use the name "America First" or to hold meetings which appear to be under the auspices of America First. The activities of this group continued and a subsequent letter was written over the signature of T. S. HAMMOND and is set forth as follows:

"Mr. E. H. KIEHL
[REDACTED]
Chicago, Ill. b2

My dear Mr. KIEHL

"Because of numerous complaints received regarding the activities of certain Chicago Chapters of the America First Committee, I sent, on the fifth of August, a letter to all suggesting procedure that might insure the effectiveness of the America First movement, and at the same time keep it above criticism and reproach.

"We continue to have complaints on the character of the meetings conducted by the Lincoln Park Chapter, of which you are Chairman. Because of this, we must ask that you hold no more meetings, using the name of the America First Committee. We ask that you return to the Chicago

Headquarters such stationery and supplies as have been furnished you, and your membership list.

"Please don't misunderstand me. This is in no way intended as an effort to control your activities. This is a free country and you can do as you please, but I must remind you that the America First Committee is incorporated, and those who wish to use its name must keep within the principles approved by it."

E. H. KIEHL was replaced by ALFRED W. BRUHN as chairman and the Lincoln Park Branch of the America First Committee took out a charter of incorporation in the State of Illinois on July 24, 1941. They have continued to hold meetings up to the present date which have been advertised as meetings of the Lincoln Park Chapter of the America First Committee, Inc.

At one meeting held on March 27, 1942 at Belmont Hall, JOSEPH E. MacILLIAMS of the Midwest Monetary Federation discussed the formation of an American victory movement.

[REDACTED] advised he received the following letter from the Lincoln Park Chapter of America First, Inc.:

"Dear Friend.

"We who worked in America First have a great responsibility. We have a deep underlying philosophy that perhaps can best be expressed in that phrase of Colonel LINDBERG'S, 'an independent American Destiny'. Our fight to prevent America's being involved in foreign war was but one of the great principles for which we were working.

"Deep down in our hearts each of us was hoping to see developed in America a new kind of leadership. We hoped that this leadership would seek to perfect America's economic self-sufficiency. We hoped for instance to see America develop a rubber supply somewhere in the western hemisphere that would assure us tires, regardless of European or Asiatic wars. We hoped to see developed here in the western hemisphere the low grade alloying ores that would

assure us steel for peace or war, despite the military adventures of foreign nations, or the whims of international speculators centered in London. We hoped to see American internal economy completely insulated from the international financial manipulators. We hoped to see America protected from the international fold confidence men who have promoted wars and revolutions in Europe for hundreds of years.

"We hoped to see America's vast labor power, directed by our great technical and managerial skill, turned loose upon the tremendous natural wealth of this continent to the end that the century-old American dream of a 'decent home, security and education for all might be achieved. We know that we cannot forever be pre-occupied with Europe's and Asia's economic wars and still have the time and energy to solve America's own great problems.

"It is clear that we who were in America First had a larger purpose. The fight against participation in the oncoming war was but an incident in the fight for an 'Independent American Destiny'.

"Our really great fight is to determine who will be the masters when peace comes. What will be the nature of the coming peace? Will the international-minded, the international gold shysters, the international manipulators, rule America in the coming peace or will America be ruled by Americans in the interest of the American people and of their welfare?

"The 'Union Now' crowd are already making plans for America to support the world. They propose that the American taxpayer be saddled with the cost of rebuilding the whole structure of international finance just as soon as peace comes.

"They have the effrontery and gall to tell you Americans that your standard of living must fall so that you can patch up the world internationalist structure during the coming peace. In other words the living standard of Americans must go down to the standard of the Balkans or India or China.

"Look at your young son or daughter and decide if, besides taking on the tremendous burden of war taxes, you want them and your grandchildren to work and pay confiscatory taxes to the end of their lives, to support the schemes of the 'Union Now' traitors.

"You may not have a right to meet and discuss the war freely, but

you have a clear, Constitutional and unassailable legal right to meet and discuss the shape and kind of peace that will follow this war.

"The Communists, The 'Union Now-ers', the internationalists are as busy as ants preparing plans for the peace. If we, the true American patriots, do not come forward with a program, if we do not organize promptly and effectively to assure ourselves the kind of peace we want, then the internationalists will win the peace by default. America will then be theirs for centuries!

"We ask you to help create an American Victory Movement, that will assure us that the sacrifice made and the blood spilled in this war will not result in the loss of the dearly bought and inevitable peace to the dark forces of internationalism.

"We invite you to hear JOSEPH E. McWILLIAMS of the Midwest Monetary Federation discuss the formation of an 'American Victory Movement', on the night of Friday, March 27, 1942, at the Belmont Hall, 3205 N. Clark St., (8 P.M.),

"Mr. McWILLIAMS was born in Oklahoma on the Cheyenne-Arapahoe Indian Reservation. When he was six weeks old, his parents moved in a covered wagon to the Panhandle ranch country of Texas. His people had been pioneers for generations. They have fought in every war since and including the American Revolutionary War. At 37, Mr. McWILLIAMS is a veteran in the war now being waged in America to determine whether America is to have an 'independent destiny' or forever be the cat's paw of various international-minded groups and races. Mr. McWILLIAMS is one of the greatest orators in this country. You will hear one of the most inspiring addresses you have ever heard. You will be thrilled by this call to action!

"We urge you to be present (and to bring your friends) the night of Friday, March 27, at 8 P.M., at the Belmont Hall."

[REDACTED] advised he was a former American Legion member and that he had no idea as to why this group sent him the letter, stating that he was approached sometime in November of 1941 and asked by a woman to come to these meetings but he declined at that time. b2 b7c

It has been reported by [REDACTED] that the Lincoln Park Chapter of America First, Inc. has a membership of 9,000 persons b2 b7c

in Chicago.

[REDACTED] advised on April 24, 1942, that ALFRED BRUHN, Chairman of the Lincoln Park Branch stated a mailing list of the combined organizations of the Citizens Committee; We the Mothers Mobilize for America; the former Christopher Columbus Chapter of America First, headed by PETER GREENFIELD; the Oak Street Chapter, headed by NORMAN SANDERS and the Rogers Park Chapter headed by GEORGE A. WELLBERG and two south side chapters of America First had been made available to him "for a good program when the time came". BRUHN further remarked that the above mentioned lists numbered approximately 50,000 of which We the Mothers Mobilize for America, Inc. provided 35,000 and the Christopher Columbus Chapter numbered 4,500. The two south side chapters numbered 14,000 and the Midwest Monetary Federation 15,000. He remarked that the membership list of the Midwest Monetary Federation duplicated the membership list of the Lincoln Park Chapter and the Christopher Columbus Chapter with approximately an addition of 100 persons whose names did not appear on any of the other organizations books. BRUHN stated the Joe McWILLIAMS following of the Christian Mobilizers was more than 50,000 in New York City; that the GERALD L. K. SMITH circulation of the Flag and the Cross numbered approximately 15,000 in the Chicago area and WILLIAM GRASS' Citizens Committee, which BRUHN was advised was predominate, had numbered about 3,000. b2 b7D

All of these organizations, BRUHN is reported to have said, duplicated the membership of each other so that persons on one mailing list also received mail and literature from the other groups.

BRUHN has indicated his desire [REDACTED] to weld the remaining groups into one organization and he has said he could get the backing for a newspaper or a news letter which he intended calling "The Lindberg Beacon, the purpose of which would be to give news of the various peace organizations and their accomplishments. He said there were a number of well-to-do businessmen in Chicago who would contribute money to a paper of this type. He mentioned three such individuals as being [REDACTED] [REDACTED] was said to have contributed to America First and is interested in contributing to other organizations who are still active. b2 b7D b7

BRUHN mentioned [REDACTED] who was interested in an organization headed by MARGARET RUSSELL known as the Women's White Army

and an individual named [REDACTED] who formerly contributed to America First and who financially supported the Lincoln Park Chapter. b7c

[REDACTED] advised that BRUHN has indicated that "strong popular movement" which he has been endeavoring to get up, would coordinate all peace groups in Chicago each with a definite roll. He indicated fifteen of the old chapters of the America First have expressed themselves as willing to go on. He stated the purpose and aim of the peace groups would be "to form a third party" possibly under the help of the Lindberg Party which would advocate an impeachment of the President and for a new administration. b2 b7D

BRUHN further outlined the purposes as follows, "A work towards a negotiated peace by encouraging and stirring up a feeling of the people towards this end. To keep the people informed for a strong organized propaganda. Bring the money situation to the attention of the people and create the distrust of the money system, especially the Federal Reserve Bank, which, he is alleged to have said, is privately owned by a group of international bankers."

[REDACTED] advised the planned organization of the peace groups by BRUHN has failed to materialize and at several of the meetings held by BRUHN less than 50 people have attended. b1

ALFRED WILLIAM BRUHN, 1710 North Rockwell Street, is described as follows:

Age	55
Height	5'11"
Weight	140
Hair	Gray
Eyes	Blue
Face	Thin

He is employed as the exposition manager of the American Health Food Association, 32 North State Street. BRUHN was born in Wittenberg, Wisconsin and has been closely associated with United States Senator GERALD R. NYE, with whom he has been corresponding.

NORMAN SAUNDERS, formerly a speaker for America First and listed on

the report of the Speakers Bureau as having addressed twenty-three meetings of the Chicago Chapter has been reported as active with BRUHN and is endeavoring to form a peace group in Chicago. On April 11, 1942, he addressed the Patrick Henry Forum after he was introduced by MARTIN J. HIGGINS, Director of the Patrick Henry Forum as one of the chief lecturers and organizers for America First.

[REDACTED] advised SAUNDERS was quiet spoken and careful in his remarks, but stated "the people have been inadequate by not demonstrating their inalienable rights in removing a President who has a long record of violations of the Constitution.

Further investigation will be conducted to ascertain if the membership lists of the former America First are being made available to any of the above named persons active in the peace front following the declaration of war.

Reference is made to the report of Special Agent [REDACTED] made at New York City May 13, 1942 in instant case. Reference report sets forth the activities of HORACE J. HAASE of the Brooklyn Chapter, America First. b7c

[REDACTED] furnished photostatic copy of a mimeographed sheet dated March 9, 1942 which is set forth as follows: b2 b7

"TO MY FRIENDS WHO WERE FORMERLY MEMBERS OF AMERICA FIRST

"It being impossible for me to write each of you a personal letter will you please accept in its place the enclosed mimeographed announcement of a new organization I hope you will join and support.

"We opposed the war because of what it would do to our beloved country. We must work for PEACE now in order that war and the results of war will not fulfil our predictions.

"PLEASE SEND US THE NAMES OF OTHERS WHO ARE OR MIGHT BE INTERESTED. Will you organize in your neighborhood? Can you suggest someone who might?

"Something about the temporary chairman of AMERICANS FOR PEACE

"HORACE J. HAASE was born in Brooklyn, N.Y. of American parents on Jan. 4th, 1909. He has spent the last seven years studying America's economic and social problems. He is the author of THE ECONOMIC DEMOCRACY and is now work-

ing on a 700 page book laying down the basis for a just and lasting peace. He taught economics for several years, was Director of a School and has lectured on subjects ranging from Religion to politics. He treats all these things from the Economic angle.

"When THE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE Was organized he joined the New York Chapter and lectured or soap-boxed, as opportunity offered, until the Committee was disbanded on Dec. 12th. For the last four months he was Chairman of the Speakers Bureau of the Brooklyn Chapter.

"He has now resigned as associate editor of a New Jersey newspaper in order to organize a committee with ~~PEACE~~ AS ITS FIRST OBJECTIVE. He has done so because he found that most other peace organizations have other objectives which they put first.

"Fellow American:

"Whether you WISH IT or NOT -- your tax-contributions are financing world-wide death and destruction. What are you doing for PEACE and FREEDOM?

"A few short months ago many of us were laboring to keep peace and to promote freedom. We were deeply and sincerely concerned about the future of our country. We knew that the entry of our country into the war would mean the sacrifice of American lives all over the world, the lowering of our standard of living, the building up of a debt that would destroy our economic freedom and the impoverishment of future generations. We knew that during the war the Bureaucrats and Communists in Washington would make us more nearly totalitarian and we knew that the only reward we would get out of victory would be the privilege of upholding the British Empire and of forcing our joint domination upon the world 'for a hundred years' (to quote Mr. KNOX). For these reasons we opposed the war at every opportunity throughout the land. BUT IF THESE THINGS WERE TRUE THEN when we were talking of POTENTIAL dangers, THEY ARE EVEN TRUER TO-DAY WHEN THESE SAME DANGERS ARE UPON US.

"Such being the case, if our concern is really for America, we have a duty to perform -- a duty to ourselves, to our children and to coming generations. That duty is to do all we can to put an end to this threat to American Democracy -- to advocate the EARLIEST POSSIBLE JUST PEACE. Such a peace is the

only hope for preserving our way of life.

"Some of us, in the days before Pearl Harbor, advocated a negotiated peace -- a peace in which both sides would have a say and BOTH SIDES would have to make concessions. We declared that only such a peace could hope to last. IF THAT WAS TRUE THEN, IT IS JUST AS TRUE NOW. The only possible lasting peace is one in which neither side forces its will upon the other -- a peace without victory. Such is the peace plan we must advocate with all our power and strength. And we must do it NOW.

"Before the war our peace program was unpopular. It still is, but I firmly believe that THE MAJORITY OF AMERICANS STILL WANT A JUST PEACE and OPPOSE WORLD DOMINATION EITHER BY BRITAIN, THE UNITED STATES OR BOTH.

"THESE ARE THE TIMES when REAL PATRIOTIC AMERICANS look to the WELFARE OF THEIR COUNTRY and not to the popularity of their cause. WE DID NOT LACK COURAGE OR CANDOR BEFORE. WE MUST NOT LACK THEM NOW -- WE MUST NOT FAIL AMERICA-- WE MUST NOT FAIL OURSELVES-- WE MUST NOT FAIL TRUTH AND JUSTICE. 'Let us have faith that right makes might and in that faith let us dare to do our duty as we understand it', (LINCOLN)

"DO SOMETHING FOR PEACE TO-DAY. DO IT NOW JOIN, AMERICANS FOR PEACE and send your contribution to help mail millions of these letters all over the country. Let 'UNITY FOR PEACE' be our slogan. United we can win.

"AMERICANS FOR PEACE Room 203, 1165 Bway, N.Y.C. H. J. HAASE, Act. Exec. Chm."

[REDACTED] advised HORACE J. HAASE had written to Senator GERALD P. NYE and that in answer to this communication HAASE received the following letter from GERALD P. NYE: b2
b7D

"Of course if you are coming this way I shall want to see you, and when you get here you need only to telephone me and let me know of your presence whereon we can fix a time that would be convenient for a good visit.

"I shared with you that concern expressed concerning the folding up of the America First Committee, but the more I weigh the matter the more I come

to believe that it was wise to pursue the course that was pursued. But that does not right off the desperate need that will prevail for such a committee as it to function again, and I am satisfied that at the ripe time there can be a rebirth that will be in the full and complete interest of America. Increasing are the challenges to Americans as relates to the inefficient conduct of the war, the issue of civilian defense, the planning for the future, and especially the Union Now challenge which is growing.

"In some respects this Union Now play is not short of high treason, and growing sentiment is in evidence. What we need right now is patience lest we move too soon and before there is sufficient understanding with a loyal opposition organization through the country. But we can talk more about this when I see you."

Concerning this communication addressed to H. J. HAASE, [REDACTED] advised the person who had furnished him the letter had sent along with it the following observations, "In my opinion this is a most significant document. It reaffirms in our minds the fear that the top leaders of the old America First Committee never sincerely liquidated the committee. Their intention was to permit it to lie dormant until the 'proper time'. H. J. HAASE is a nickle and dime stumble bum and at the same time is a member of many small group leaders from which can be recreated the old National American Committee. For this reason NYE is very nice to him in this letter."

[REDACTED] advised that [REDACTED] had furnished the following information concerning the organization, "Gifts For our Boys":

"This organization, which has its office at 150 Broadway and its 'headquarters for gifts' in Room 1111 at the Plaza Hotel, 5th Ave. and 58th St., N.Y.C., is an offspring of the America First Committee. The wealthier fascist elements formerly active in the America First Committee, metropolitan area, are tied up with this group. Its purpose, you will note from the annexed photo-stats, is to raise money to be given to men in our armed forces so that they may, at times of furlough, make trips home that they otherwise could not afford, etc. At least, that is its ostensible purpose. However, the personalities active in the group, and statements by the participants that 'this is a darned clever way to keep the America First Committee organized and intact, so that when the time

.. " "

comes all will be in readiness to act', reveal the true reasons for the creation of the organization. Mr. and Mrs. NORMAN HOLMES apparently were the sponsors of this 'tea' meeting. They also attended the now infamous Elizabeth Dilling dinner at 77 Park Ave., last summer.

"Others present were Mr. and Mrs. CHARLES WIXDORFF (America First & Women United)

Mrs. THELMA HERRICK (Women United)

JOHN BURKE (America First speaker)

SCOVILLE HALLIN (America First speaker)

Mrs. IDEL COOPER (Women United - Representative of Eliz. Dilling)

Mrs. LESTER ALLEN (formerly American Nationalist Party and close to McWILLIAMS)

Mrs. McCOY

Mrs. E. BENNETT (America First)

"This 'tea' meeting was arranged in a hurry because the elements active in it were anxious to sabotage the efforts of the ED FLYNN - PALMER crowd of America Firsters who are reported to be organizing a committee of their own. Of course, it is too early in the game to be able to delineate clearly the forces at work. This GOB group undoubtedly consists of the rotten part of the old AFC. If it does nothing else, it will probably succeed in contacting army and navy men and eventually will try to propagandize the boys while assisting them."

It was indicated that [REDACTED] had considerable information pertaining to the activities of former leaders of subject organization and that he would be cooperative and furnish them to this Bureau.

[REDACTED] furnished a clipping from the Jewish Transcript published at Seattle, Washington, dated January 9, 1942 under the headline "America First Mailing Lists being used by Our Enemies." The clipping is not being set out in full but contains the charge that the Non-Sectarian, anti-Nazi League had charged that mailing lists of the recently dissolved America First are still being used by some individuals and groups to lay a ground work for future guerrilla conflict on the propaganda front in America. The Sectarian League was indicated to be in possession of copies of a Christmas greeting folder printed with the signature of the Loyal Copperheads of America, headed by a former active America First worker. The folder was sent during the first

few days of December as a Christmas greeting to former active members of the America First Committee in New York and was revealed that persons receiving the folder had been active in America First although never had been active in the Copperheads League.

[REDACTED] further furnished a copy of a confidential report which he had received from New York City pertaining to the Brooklyn Chapter of America First: b2
b7d

"HORACE J. HAASE took over (very much unofficially) the forces of the dissolved Brooklyn chapter of America First, replacing WILLIAM LEONARD who resigned even before the national executive committee of AF disbanded the entire organization. HAASE is an amateur economist who wrote a book called The Economic Democracy (Tremaine & Company). He belongs to the radical Fascist wing of America First. His line, now expressed only privately, is in favor of a revolution. 'This is not our war,' he says, 'Impeach the President.' One of his closest friends in the Brooklyn America-First group is THURMAN BLACKWOOD, a thoroughly seditious young man who belongs to several secret organizations.

"According to HAASE, he (HAASE) had a talk with ED WEBSTER of the New York America-First crowd, and WEBSTER had said to him: 'HERBERT HOOVER' has always been a close collaborator of America First and has advised me (WEBSTER) to keep the organization (AF) inactive for a while and to come out with a new program later on.' WEBSTER said further: 'LINDBERGH also wants to carry on the fight against "the Communists in Washington," and in a few months intends to come out openly for the organization.'

"HAASE also tells his friends that he is in touch with HOOVER'S assistants on HOOVER'S Relief Committee, and they tell him that HOOVER and they will help the AF forces to keep afloat because 'there is so much dirt in Washington, and the Administration is fighting them (HOOVER men) with such vicious methods.'

"Incidentally, HAASE is the man who went to the parents of victims of the Reuben James and got them to sign statements that they did not 'intend that their sons should die in President Roosevelt's private war on convoy duty to the English.'

"It is the same HAASE who quite recently boasted of having 'a girl

.. "" ..

friend working in the Ministry for British War Transfers as a shipping clerk and she can give us important information.'

"There are a number in the Brooklyn America-First gang who have promised HAASE to carry on their 'patriotic' work. Among those are Mrs. ~~EVA PORTER~~, Mrs. ~~HALLIE OLSEN~~, who is very Irish, very anti-ROOSEVELT and anti-British, ~~THURMAN BLACKWOOD~~, and others. Captain ~~GEORGE SMITH~~ made a point of telephoning HAASE that he would be glad to help his pal (HAASE).

"The Brooklyn chapter of AF had a membership list of 80,000. No one seems to know what happened to that list after LEONARD pulled out. HAASE has been looking for the list, and may have found at least part of it."

[REDACTED] advised he had been informed the Wakefield Chapter of the North Bronx Unit of the America First Committee, New York City was still meeting regularly as of February 6, 1942. It was reported that meetings were held in the homes of certain of the members. He advised he had no further information pertaining to the activities of the former chapters of the America First Committee in New York City but that he was aware of the organization known as Gifts for our Boys and Salute our Men. He advised should any information come to him concerning these groups which he stated grew out of America First, he would furnish it to this office. b2 b7D

[REDACTED] advised he received a communication from New York City to the effect that [REDACTED], whom he described as one of the more active appeasers in the Metropolitan area, had been notifying friends in the ranks of the America First Committee that the America First groups in New Jersey are now organizing very strongly, particularly in Newark. b2 b7D

This communication dated January 27, 1942, further remarked that Mrs. ~~CARROLL~~, who led the Jersey City Chapter of the America First Committee, is still organizing and that apparently the Jersey groups are looking for a large national group with which to merge.

[REDACTED]

P E N D I N G

UNDEVELOPED LEADS

The New York Field Division

AT NEW YORK CITY

Will interview [REDACTED] for in-
formation in his possession regarding the activities of the former leaders of
America First.

Will interview [REDACTED] and will ascertain
other information in his possession regarding the activities of subject or-
ganization.

Will interview [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

The Washington Field Division

AT WASHINGTON, D.C.

Will interview [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

The Chicago Field Division

AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Will recontact [REDACTED] and [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] as listed in the body of the above report to ascertain the future activities of those individuals and groups who reportedly have had access to membership lists of local chapters of America First and who are reported as endeavoring to weld those groups and others into the so-called peace front.

Will continue to develop information pertaining to the use of the membership lists and mailing lists of the America First Chapter by the former leaders of America First for political or other purposes.

P E N D I N G

XXXXXX
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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

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- ☒ Deletions were made pursuant to the exemptions indicated below with no segregable material available for release to you.

Section 552Section 552a☐ (b)(1)☐ (b)(7)(A)☐ (d)(5)☒ (b)(2)☐ (b)(7)(B)☐ (j)(2)☐ (b)(3)☒ (b)(7)(C)☐ (k)(1)☒ (b)(7)(D)☐ (k)(2)☐ (b)(7)(E)☐ (k)(3)☐ (b)(7)(F)☐ (k)(4)☐ (b)(4)☐ (b)(8)☐ (k)(5)☐ (b)(5)☐ (b)(9)☐ (k)(6)☐ (b)(6)☐ (k)(7)

- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- ☐ Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

ORIGIN CHICAGO, ILLINOIS		FILE # 100-3325	
Made at SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.	Date Made 5/26/42	Period 3/28;4/17,18; 5/14,19-22/42	Report made by b7c
Title AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE			Character INTERNAL SECURITY (G)

SYNOPSIS:

Summary of present war organization and activities of America First Committee, Northern California District, set out. All activities reported to have ceased since United States entered war in December. No evidence uncovered relating to any underground activities of organization since that time. Meeting held by one of largest San Francisco chapters of organization on 12/9/41. Members voted to "remain dormant for the duration", but not to dissolve entirely. No activity in [redacted] district organization since January, 1942. Approximately two thousand membership application cards obtained relating to membership of San Francisco chapter of organization. Many Germans prominent in German activities in San Francisco were among those having filled out application cards.

- P -

REFERENCE:

Bureau letter to all field offices, dated March 16, 1942.

DETAILS: AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

ORGANIZATION

The files of the office of Secretary of State of California contained

<p><i>J. J. Rogers</i> C opies</p> <p>5 - Bureau 3 - Chicago 2 - ONI, San Francisco 1 - G-2, San Francisco 2 - San Francisco</p>		<p>100-4712-398</p> <p>JUN 1 1942</p> <p>FIVE</p>	<p>RECORDED</p> <p>INDEXED</p> <p>b7c</p>
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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/30/83 BY 397 RAB
10-19-90
98875/AL

the following information concerning the America First Committee of Northern California, Inc., incorporation number 187913, filed June 3, 1941.

The purposes for which this corporation was formed were stated as follows:

(A) To stimulate and encourage the National Defense in the United States of America so that it shall be so strong that no foreign power or combination of powers can successfully invade it.

(B) To advocate a policy on the part of the United States of keeping out of foreign wars and of avoiding alliances, entanglements or acts which are apt to embroil us in foreign wars.

(C) To advocate the policy of extending democracy, constitutional government and personal freedom throughout the world, by preserving and promoting in our country peace, representative government, allegiance to our constitution, and personal freedom.

(D) To stimulate, encourage, and assist the study, analysis, conference and discussion of national issues by all citizens.

(E) To exercise such other powers as may be permitted under authority of Title XII, Part IV, Division First of the Civil Code of the State of California and under authority of the laws of the State of California not inconsistent therewith.

(F) This corporation is organized as a non-profit concern that does not contemplate pecuniary gain or profit to the members thereof.

The principal office for the transaction of the business of this corporation was to be located in the City and County of San Francisco.

Membership in the corporation shall be regulated by by-laws. Unless otherwise provided by the by-laws, membership shall be open to patriotic American citizens who are loyal to our constitutional form of government and who are in agreement with the principles of this corporation.

No person shall be eligible to membership unless he or she shall sign a membership card, nor unless he or she shall comply with such of the by-laws regulating membership as may be prescribed.

Neither the officers, directors or members of this corporation shall have the power to levy assessments on the members nor shall any of the officers, directors or members be personally liable for any of the debts, liabilities or obligations of the corporation.

The corporation shall have the power to create chapters in various communities, to provide rules and regulations governing the functions of such chapters, to specify the territory within the jurisdiction of each chapter, and to prescribe

rules and regulations whereunder the members of the corporation within the territory of such chapters may elect officers, hold meetings, and function within the territory as a chapter of this corporation.

Subject to such regulations as may be set forth in the by-laws, the directors shall have the power to provide for meeting of the members, and to provide for conventions of delegates thereto from various chapters of the corporation.

The Board of Directors shall have the power by a two-thirds vote to expel any person from membership in the corporation. Unless otherwise stated in the By-laws, three directors shall be a quorum.

The number of directors of this corporation shall be five, but the directors shall have the authority to increase or decrease the number of directors by resolution of the Board, except that in no event shall the number of Directors be less than three.

The names and address of the persons who are appointed to act as the first directors of this corporation are: JOHN J. TAHERY, FRANK T. McGRATH, WILLIAM H. HARRISON, ZOA F. CAMP, ANNETTE VOSTI, all of San Francisco, California.

CHAPTERS OF THE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
IN THE NORTHERN CALIFORNIA DISTRICT

The following information concerning the Chapters of the America First Committee of the Northern California district, was taken from the November 15, 1941, issue of "The Herald", a weekly newspaper which was formerly published by the Northern California District of the America First Committee.

Abraham Lincoln Chapter, San Francisco -

~~HERBERT PETERSON~~, Chairman

~~PAUL NAMI~~, vice Chairman

~~MARGARET CASEY~~, Secretary

This chapter met at the Shasta Hall, Native Sons Building,
414 Mason Street, San Francisco.

William Paca Chapter, San Francisco -

~~BENEDICT V. DE HELLIS~~, Chairman

~~JULIA BESOZZI~~, Secretary

~~ELEANOR SUBTROPICO~~, Acting treasurer

This chapter met at the Fugazi Hall, 678 Green Street, San Francisco.

Benjamin Franklin Chapter, San Francisco -

~~FRANK T. McGRATH~~, Chairman

~~JASON GORDON~~, Vice Chairman

~~MARGARET HOGAN~~, Secretary

~~Mrs. GEORGE BUSH~~, Treasurer

This chapter met at 309-4th Avenue, San Francisco.

Charles A. Lindbergh Chapter, San Francisco -
GEORGE KANE, Chairman
Mrs. A. E. LAU, Vice Chairman
Mrs. L. L. MORRISON, Secretary
Mrs. K. T. LUNDE, Treasurer
This chapter met at 1738 - 9th Avenue, San Francisco.

Lafayette Chapter, San Francisco -
Mrs. RUSSO, Secretary

George Washington Chapter, San Francisco -
JAMES FLYNN, Chairman
Mrs. M. SMITH, Vice Chairman
Mrs. WERTLEY, Treasurer
This chapter met in the Irish-American Hall, 16th and Valencia
Streets, San Francisco.

Burton K. Wheeler Chapter, San Francisco -
HELEN McILLIAN, Secretary

Oakland Chapter, 381-17th Street, Oakland -
GUY H. WRIGHT, Chairman
GEORGE T. LOHER, Vice Chairman
This chapter met at the Hotel Oakland, Oakland, California.

Berkeley Chapter, 2123 Center Street, Berkeley -
DONALD S. MACKAY, Chairman
P. W. ALLOTON, Vice Chairman
Mrs. M. C. HAYES, Secretary
JOSEPH BERNAL, Treasurer

Stockton Chapter, Stockton -
F. B. FEIGNER, Chairman
ERNEST GUYLE, Vice Chairman
LILLIAN THEUERKAUFF, Secretary
W. L. THEUERKAUFF, Treasurer and manager of headquarters
This chapter met at 410 East Market Street, Stockton.

The most active individuals in the Northern California District organization are listed as follows:

Mr. JOHN TAHENY, 625 Market Street, San Francisco. Mr. TAHENY is a San Francisco lawyer and is also president of the United Irish Societies of San Francisco. Mr. TAHENY was one of the original directors of the district organization and acted as chairman of the Board of Directors.

Mr. FRANK T. McGRATH, Hearst Building, San Francisco. McGRATH, a San Francisco lawyer, was vice chairman of the Board of Directors

and was also chairman of the Benjamin Franklin Chapter of the committee in San Francisco.

WILLIAM H. HARRISON, member of the Board of Directors.

ZOA F. CAMP, member of the Board of Directors.

ANNETTE VOSTI, member of the Board of Directors and secretary of the district organization.

In August, 1941, RALPH B. WURLITZER, a member of the legal firm of DAVIS, SKAGGS and Company, took active leave from the duties of that firm to become an Executive Secretary of the Northern California District of the America First Committee.

Also active in the district organization was a Mrs. TERRANCE BOYLE. An item in the Herald of October 16, 1941, stated "Mrs. BOYLE was one of the most enthusiastic and consistent volunteer workers for the America First Committee. Mrs. BOYLE is a sister of FRANK T. MCGRATH, Chairman of the Franklin Chapter."

SAMUEL L. BROGDEN was the Director of Organization for the northern district of California of the Committee until May 27, 1941, at which time he was asked to resign. [REDACTED]

In August, 1941, BROGDEN became California State Chairman of the "Citizens No Foreign War Coalition" organization. When BROGDEN left the America First Committee, he took with him one GEORGE T. BAKER who had formerly assisted him in America First. [REDACTED] b7

He was also a frequent speaker at meetings of the German-American Bund in 1939 and 1940.

Other individuals who were active in the Northern California District organization were Dr. HUGH R. PARKINSON, former leader of the Silver Shirts in San Francisco; Mr. H. L. KLUTE, prominently identified with German activities in San Francisco, and Mrs. SADIE J. DOYLE, [REDACTED] b7

Most prominent members who worked in the Oakland, California, area of the America First Committee are:

GUY M. WRIGHT, Chairman of the Oakland Chapter, proprietor of WRIGHT's Dry Cleaning and Laundry Service, 537 Athol Avenue, Oakland. WRIGHT also spoke at mass meetings of the San Francisco and Berkeley Chapters of the organization.

GEORGE T. LOHER, Vice Chairman of the Oakland Chapter, who is connected with the Acacia Mutual Life Insurance Company, Oakland. LOHER has been reported to this office as a Nazi propagandist and was reported to have made the

following statement relative to selective service in the United States: "If you get into the army the thing for you to do is revolt, then there won't be any army." LOEHR also made the statement, relative to President ROOSEVELT prior to one of the president's speeches, "Well, what is the damn fool going to talk about tonight?" His wife replied, "What is the difference? Lindbergh will be on later." LOEHR was also reported as being a draft evader in World War I.

ACTIVITIES

The America First Committee of Northern California published a weekly newspaper entitled "The Herald." A Mr. LORRIN L. MORRISON was editor, and Mrs. THOMAS B. DOYLE was associate editor. This paper was published at 507 Mason Street, San Francisco. There is no evidence of this newspaper being distributed since the United States entered the war in December, 1941.

Various mass meetings were held at San Francisco and Oakland. Following is the list of the prominent speakers who took part: SENATOR D. WORTH CLARK, CHARLES A. LINDBERGH, Senator BURTON K. WHEELER, KATHLEEN NORRIS, JOHN J. TAREN, Dr. DONALD S. MCKAY, Professor of philosophy, University of California, who is also chairman of the Berkeley Chapter of the America First Committee, and Senator RUSH D. HOLT.

NAZI-FASCIST INFILTRATION IN THE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

As was stated above in the report, several prominent "American-Fascists" were active in the organization. Those were [REDACTED] b7

The chapter known as the William Paca Chapter, which met in the North Beach district of San Francisco, was composed almost entirely of Italian members. The membership of this chapter numbered over two hundred. Information was received from [REDACTED] that evidence of Italian Fascist infiltration into the America First Committee has been established at the William Paca Chapter and the Burton K. Wheeler Chapter, San Francisco. Chapters predominantly Italian have been addressed by individuals prominent in the Italian-American colony in San Francisco. RENZO TURCO was a frequent speaker and was reported to be a leading figure at a ball which was held under the auspices of the San Jose Chapter of the Italian War Veterans. TURCO was also reported to be a member of the Order of Sons of Italy and to have attended a bund meeting on May 30, 1938. b6

Shortly after the outbreak of war in December, 1941, approximately two thousand application cards for membership in the America First Committee were obtained by this office from [REDACTED]. An examination was made of these application cards and in sorting them out it was ascertained that 682 b6

[REDACTED]

670

One of the largest contributors to the America First Committee in San Francisco was a [REDACTED] [REDACTED] furnished this office with a photostatic copy of a letter dated April 8, 1941, from [REDACTED] to Mr. S. L. BROGLEN, Director of Organization. The letter is as follows: "The time is short, the need of funds is probably great and urgent - therefore I am enclosing a personal check of [REDACTED] in response to your letter of April 2nd towards the specific needs mentioned in your letter. The mass meeting I thought encouraging to a cause that has such an uphill struggle. Signed, Yours truly, [REDACTED] Information was also received that [REDACTED] submitted a check of [REDACTED] at a subsequent date. On September 17, 1941, [REDACTED] advised that he had received information from a reliable source that [REDACTED] who is [REDACTED] a San Francisco [REDACTED] company, and [REDACTED] gives a check of [REDACTED] each month to [REDACTED] who in turn gives it to SAMUEL BROGLEN of the America First Committee. b2 b7 b7

ACTIVITIES SINCE DECEMBER 7, 1941

The following information was received from [REDACTED] on March 28, 1942: "Answering your inquiry as to underground activity of America First groups and leaders since Pearl Harbor, I submit the following information which is the last report I have had regarding the America First Committee.

"On December 10, 1941, Mrs. GEORGE BUSH, active in America First, called at the "No Foreign War Coalition" headquarters and announced that the meeting of the America First Executive Committee had been called off but that the Benjamin Franklin Chapter of America First had met Tuesday night, December 9, 1941, with about forty members present. FRANK McGRATH, Chairman of that chapter, asked that the members take a standing vote on their desires as to future activity. The three alternative policies on which the membership was asked to base its future were: (1) to dissolve entirely; this was voted down; (2) to support the war against Japan but otherwise object to war against other foreign nations; only one-third of the membership supported this plan; (3) to remain dormant for the duration; two-thirds voted yes.

"McGRATH then suggested that the officers of the chapter meet once a month or so and that any of the members who wished to join them at lunch or dinner "in a purely social way" might also attend. It was pointed out that this would have to be done in a private fashion and not as an organization. McGRATH said further that while the members could not carry on and work as an organization, they could still, as individuals, express their opinions on the progress of world affairs and better keep in touch with affairs. This was agreed upon, all of these present being favorable to plan."

[REDACTED] was contacted subsequent to this time but was unable to furnish any more information concerning any activities of the America First Committee.

[REDACTED] who formerly reported activities regarding the America First in the San Francisco area, advised that no information had come to him that the America First was engaged in any activity since the organization closed in December.

Various individuals who had in the past reported receiving America First literature were contacted, but all advised that they had received no literature from the organization since December 7, 1941.

[REDACTED] San Francisco, who resigned from the America First group about August, 1941, was contacted by the writer. [REDACTED] had formerly reported to this office activities in the William Paea Chapter of the organization. She advised that to her knowledge the America First Committee had held a meeting in one of the hotels in San Francisco, which was in the form of a social. At this time a vote was taken as to future activities of the group and the vote resulted in "remaining dormant for the duration and ceasing all activity at the present but not disbanding entirely." b7c b2

- PENDING -

- UNDEVELOPED LEADS -

SAN FRANCISCO FIELD DIVISION

AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b2
b7D

Will contact [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] relative to any activities of the America First Groups.

Will report any activities coming to the attention of the San Francisco office from any other source.

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

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Section 552Section 552a☐ (b)(1)☐ (b)(7)(A)☐ (d)(5)☒ (b)(2)☐ (b)(7)(B)☐ (j)(2)☐ (b)(3)☒ (b)(7)(C)☐ (k)(1)☒ (b)(7)(D)☐ (k)(2)☐ (b)(7)(E)☐ (k)(3)☐ (b)(7)(F)☐ (k)(4)☐ (b)(4)☐ (b)(8)☐ (k)(5)☐ (b)(5)☐ (b)(9)☐ (k)(6)☐ (b)(6)☐ (k)(7)

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- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.

- ☐ Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

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- ☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

100-4712-398 in p. 11

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X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
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CONFIDENTIAL

JUN 2 1942

TELETYPE

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-18-90 BY SP8BTJ/col

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin	.....
Mr. Ladd	.....
Mr. Nichols	.....
Mr. Rosen	.....
Mr. Tracy	.....
Mr. Carson	.....
Mr. Coffey	.....
Mr. Hendon	.....
Mr. Holloman	.....
Mr. McGuire	.....
Mr. Quinn Tamm	.....
Mr. Nease	.....

BI EL PASO

6-2-42

8-10 PM

DIRECTOR
HEAR. AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, INTERNAL SECURITY- G. RETEL MAY
TWENTY SIXTH, NINETEEN FORTY TWO, TO DATE NO INDICATION THIS COMMITTEE
OPERATING IN EL PASO TERRITORY. ACTIVE DISCREET INVESTIGATION PRESENTLY
BEING CONDUCTED AND THE RESULTS WILL BE IMMEDIATELY FORWARDED TO THE
BUREAU AMSD UPON COMPLETION.

BRYCE

END

A AND H

10-14 PM OK FBI WA [REDACTED]

rec'd 11:10 PM
6-3-42.

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noted [REDACTED]

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1 JUN 12 '42
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COPY IN FILE

100-4712-39
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
9 JUN 8 1942
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
[REDACTED]

EX

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

F.B.I. RADIOGRAM

MR. TOLSON _____
MR. LATTAM _____
MR. CLEGG _____
MR. GLAVIN _____
MR. LADD _____
MR. NICHOLS _____
MR. TRACY _____
MR. ROSEN _____
MR. GARDNER _____
MR. COFFEY _____
MR. HENSON _____
MR. MULLIGAN _____
MR. QUINN TAMM _____

(c) [REDACTED] COPY

b1

b7c

FROM JUNEAU (c) [REDACTED] 7:13 PM [REDACTED] NR 116

DIRECTOR

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE; INTERNAL SECURITY--G.

REPORT SUBMITTED TO BUREAU BY THIS OFFICE MAY 25
LAST

7:25 PM [REDACTED]

Classified by SP8 BTJ/cal
Declassify on: OADR 10-18-90

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100-4712-400
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
13 [REDACTED] (c)
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
[REDACTED] b7c

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

F.B.I. RADIOGRAM

MR. TOLSON
MR. BOARDMAN
MR. BELMONT
MR. CLEGG
MR. GLAVIN
MR. LADD
MR. NICHOLS
MR. ROSEN
MR. TRACY
MR. WINTERROWD
MR. MOHR
MR. GARDNER
MR. COFFEY
MR. HENSON
MR. HOLLOWAY
MR. QUINN TAMM
MR. NEASE
MR. GANDY

(c) [REDACTED] COPY

1693

FROM SAN JUAN (c) [REDACTED] NR 249 10:44 A.M.

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE; INTERNAL SECURITY - G.
REFERENCE TELEGRAM MAY 26 LAST. REPORT OF SPECIAL
AGENT [REDACTED] DATED MAY 21 LAST SUB-
MITTED TO BUREAU THAT DATE.

11:04 A.M. [REDACTED]

Classified by SP8 BTJ/cal
Declassify on: OADR 10-18-90

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cc Mr. Ladd

noted
day 4/28

RECORDED

100-4712-401
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
(c) [REDACTED]
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

8 [REDACTED] (c)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

FILE NO. 100-770

REPORT MADE AT BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS	DATE WHEN MADE 5/21/42	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 5/19/42	REPORT MADE BY [REDACTED] b7c
TITLE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE			CHARACTER OF CASE INTERNAL SECURITY -G

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: The Boston branch, AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, was organized in February 1941 and had offices at 452 Devonshire Street, Boston, Massachusetts. This organization at the present time is no longer existing, having closed its office immediately after 12/7/41. The membership and personnel of the executive committee of the Boston branch is set out herein, together with a summary of its general activities; also reported herein is a list of the contributors of One Hundred (\$100.00) Dollars ~~ALL THIS TO THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION.~~

10-18-90
SP8BJK

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 4-23-86 BY 91453Jef/col

264350 7/11/87 SP8BJ/RBG #249,863

BUREAU teletype to all Special Agents in Charge dated 5/11/42.

Instant report was prepared from review of various material in the files of the Boston Field Office.

NEW YORK CHAPTER

The New York Herald-Tribune dated January 28, 1941 reflects that the New York office of the America First Committee was opened January 27, 1941 at 49 East 53rd Street, New York City. The personnel of the New York Chapter is as follows:
JOHN T. FLYNN, Executive Chairman, Economist and Writer;
MRS. GRAHAM B. BLAINE;
DOROTHY DUNBAR BROMLEY, Writer;
MRS. W. SHIPPER DAVIS, Wife of a partner in BLAIR S. WILLIAMS COMPANY, Brokers;
DANIEL A. LINDLEY, Broker;

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SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE [REDACTED]		DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES	
100-4712-402		RECORDED	
MAY 29 1942		INDEXED	
BUREAU CHICAGO		b7c	
COPY IN FILE			

7492

✓ Mrs. BETH MILLIKEN
AMOS R. E. PINCHOT, Lawyer and Publicist
COLONEL ALLAN POPE, President, First Boston Corporation
MISS DORIS FIELDING REID, Investment Banker
PROF. EDWARD H. REISNER, Professor at Teachers' College, Columbia U.
ARCHIBALD D. ROOSEVELT, Son of President THEODORE ROOSEVELT
COLONEL THEODORE ROOSEVELT, Son of President THEODORE ROOSEVELT
H. DUDLEY SWIM, Vice President, National Investors Corp.
LOUIS F. TIMMERMAN, Banker
ALAN VALENTINE, President of the University of Rochester;
Executive Director of the National Committee of
Democrats for WILLKIE during 1940 campaign.
EDWIN S. WEBSTER, JR.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE

The New York Herald-Tribune of January 28, 1941 quotes a statement of the America First Committee, announcing the opening of the New York office as follows:

"IS IT TO BE WAR?
THE DECISION MUST BE MADE NOW
--TOMORROW MAY BE TOO LATE!

THE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE WANTS TO SAVE FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA.

AMERICA FIRST stands for an impregnable national defense. It is opposed to going into the European war WITH or WITHOUT a declaration of war. We heartily approve of all possible aid to Britain as allowed by the JOHNSON and NEUTRALITY ACTS; but we oppose being eased into the war.

AMERICA FIRST, THEREFORE, is opposed to the WAR DICTATORSHIP BILL H.R. 1776 because this bill will take out of the hands of the people and Congress the decision of going into or staying out of the war. It will be that decision in the hands of one man.

YOU ARE NOT HELPLESS--
HERE IS WHAT YOU CAN DO:

1. WRITE, TELEPHONE OR TELEGRAPH TODAY TO THE PRESIDENT, YOUR TWO SENATORS YOUR CONGRESSMAN PROTECTING AGAINST THE WAR DICTATORSHIP BILL H.R. 1776 AND AGAINST SENDING AMERICAN SHIPS INTO THE WAR ZONES.
2. Help organize chapters of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE in your town or neighborhood. Apply to NEW YORK HEADQUARTERS FOR INFORMATION.
3. FILL in the coupon below--mail it to the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE. There are no dues. JOIN the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE and swell the growing army of Americans who have faith in America."

7492

NATIONAL COMMITTEE

The New York Herald-Tribune of January 28, 1941 also reflects the personnel of the National Committee of this organization as follows:

"GENERAL ROBERT E. WOOD, Acting Chairman

DR. A. J. CARLSON
WILLIAM H. CASTLE
MRS. BENNETT CHAMP CLARK
IRVIN S. COBB
JANET AYER FAIRBANK
JOHN T. FLYNN
BISHOP WILBUR E. HAMMAKER
GEN. THOMAS HAMMOND
JAY C. HORMEL
GEN. HUGH S. JOHNSON
CLAY JUDSON
FLORENCE P. KAHN
KATHRYN LEWIS

ALICE ROOSEVELT LANGWORTH
FRANK O. LOWDEN
HARFORD MACNIDER
THOMAS E. MCCARTER
RAY MCKAIG
STERLING MORTON
AMOS R. E. PINCHOT
WILLIAM H. REGNERY
EDWARD L. RYKERSON, JR.
LOUIS J. TABER
MRS. BURTON K. WHEELER
DR. GEORGE H. WHIPPLE
MAJOR ALFORD J. WILLIAMS"

The same source reproduced the application for membership in this organization as follows:

1 - - - - - 1

1 AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, 1

1 NEW YORK CHAPTER, 1

1 49 EAST 53rd St., New York City 1

1 I subscribe to the aims of the America First 1

1 Committee. Please enroll me as a member. I 1

1 declare that I am an American citizen and in 1

1 no way connected with any foreign power or 1

1 subversive organization. 1

1 Name..... 1

1 Street..... 1

1 City.....Telephone..... 1

1 It is understood that membership involves no 1

1 financial obligations. Contributions are 1

1 entirely voluntary. 1

1 - - - - - 1

DONORS

The New York Herald-Tribune of March 12, 1941 reported that the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE made public in Chicago on March 11 the names of approximately two-thirds of its contributors who donated One Hundred (\$100.00) Dollars or more to this Committee. The total donation list amounted to \$118,906.21.

The report reflects that the names of forty-five contributors were withheld because they had notified the America First Committee that they objected to the publication of their names.

This report went on to state that contributions to the Committee as of February 20, 1941 numbered 12,342 contributions.

Of interest is a comparative statement of contributions received by instant organization as compared with the "No Foreign War Committee" which was organized by VERNE MARSHALL, part owner of the Cedar Rapids, Iowa Gazette, and the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies. This statement is being quoted as follows:

"DONATIONS TO THREE COMMITTEES

	Aiding-the- Allies	America First	No Foreign War
	As of Jan. 8	As of Feb. 20	As of Mar. 11
Total contributions.....	\$324,459.39	\$118,906.21*	\$116,513.24
Number of individual contributions.....	14,619	12,343	12,050
Number of contributions, \$100. or more.	681	114	88
Average contribution.....	\$22.20	\$9.63	**\$5.10

* Includes \$55,000 from VERNE MARSHALL.

**Excluding VERNE MARSHALL'S contribution"

These contributors as reported in the New York Herald-Tribune as March 12, 1941 are as follows:

HENRY BABSON, Chicago

W. O. BARTHEL

OTTO C. BEICH, candy manufacturer of Chicago and Bloomington, Ill.

JOHN W. BLODGETT, Grand Rapids, Mich., lumberman and banker

AYRES BOAL, Winnetka, Ill., real estate

JOHN BURNHAM, Chicago, Lawyer

ROBERT BYERLY, New York lawyer, with office at 225 Broadway and home at 39 Fifth Avenue

ASA V. CALL, Los Angeles, executive vice-president and general counsel Pacific Mutual Life Insurance Company

DAVID R. CLARKE, Chicago Lawyer

KENT S. CLOW, Lake Forest, Ill, vice-president JAMES B. CLOW & SONS, plumbing supplies.

W. J. CORBETT, Chicago

HENRY M. CRANE.

749g
THOMAS CREIGH, Chicago lawyer, general attorney for Cudahy Packing Company.
W. P. DRAPER.

MADE PETZER, Chicago, Insurance.

MORACE C. FLANIGAN, Purchase, N.Y., who commented last night:
"I'm going to double it tomorrow."

A. F. GALLUN

MR. AND MRS. A. F. GARTZ JR., Chicago

EVERETT D. GRAFF, Chicago, first vice-president of JOSEPH T. RYERSON & SONS, iron
and steel makers.

HENRY GUND, JR.

LOUIS H. HOSHEIN

CLAY HUDSON, Chicago lawyer.

Mrs. GEORGE T. LANGHORNE, Chicago, wife of Col. LANGHORNE (retired).

W. H. RAGNERY, Chicago, textile and window shade manufacturer

MRS. CAROLINE H. ROBINSON

EDWARD L. RYERSON, Chicago, president of JOSEPH T. RYERSON and Sons.

FREDERICK A. O. SCHWARZ, Partner in the law firm of Davis, Polk, Wardwell,
Gardiner and Reed, and chairman of the board of F.A.O.

SCHWARZ, Fifth Avenue toy store.

C. R. SHAEFFER.

WALTER K. SHAW, Chicago

LOUIS SIEBER

HOWARD A. SMITH

HUGO SONNESCHEIN, Chicago

Cranton SPRAY, Chicago, lawyer, and Mrs. SPRAY

VERNON F. TAYLOR

J. G. TIMOLAT, New York

Edgar Uihlein, Chicago

ERNEST E. WHEELER.

LEIGHTON A. WILKIE, Chicago

ERNEST A. WILFEE

MORRIS E. LEEDS, Philadelphia, president of Leeds & Northrup Company
and inventor of electric and temperature-measuring devices.

S. W. LOWRY.

KATRINA McCORMICK (Mrs. COURTLAND D. BARNES, JR., OF NEW YORK), Mrs. BARNES,
who is the daughter of the late UNITED STATES SENATOR MEDILL
McCORMICK of Chicago, and Mrs. RUTH HANNA SIMES, daughter of
MARK HANNA, said last night she often used her maiden name in
business dealings.

GARRET W. McENERNEY, San Francisco lawyer.

STERLING MORTON, Chicago, secretary and director of the Morton Salt Company

EDWARD MUEHLENBROCK, Detroit,

ARCHIBALD T. NAUGLE, Chicago and Santa Barbara, California, retired timber
merchant.

G. J. NIKOLAS, Chicago

NICHOLAS H. NOYES, Indianapolis, manufacturer of pharmaceuticals and biological
president of Paper Package Company

949h
JOHN NUVEEN, Chicago broker.

J. SANFORD OTIS, Chicago

ROBERT TREAT PAINE 2nd, Boston, lawyer.

HENRY POPE, Chicago

WALLACE E. PRATT, New York and Prijole, Tex., geologist, vice-president Humble Oil and Refining Company, of Houston, director and member of executive committee, Standard Oil of New Jersey.

Other contributors were THOS. J. CARNEY of Chicago, President of Sears-Roebuck & Co. and ARTHUR S. BARROWS of Kennilworth, Illinois, Director in the same firm; also JOHN McCUTCHEON, a cartoonist of the Chicago Herald-Tribune, who, with his wife has contributed more than \$100.00.

The same source reports that an analysis of the names of the contributors show that the America First Committee was getting its heaviest report around its home office in Chicago and a sprinkling of industrialists from neighboring states added to the heavy Mid-West.

Other contributors were ERNEST T. WEIR of Pittsburg, Pa., Chairman of National Steel Corp. and Treasurer of the Republican Finance Committee during the 1940 Presidential campaign; Colonel CHARLES A. LINDBERGH; EDWARD L. RYERSON of Chicago, chairman of the board of the Inland Steel Company; THOMAS N. McCARTER, chairman of the board of the Public Service Corporation in New Jersey; H. L. STUART, of Chicago, president of Halsey, Stuart & Co., the Mid-West's leading investment house; MAX W. RABB, president of Allis Chalmers Company in Milwaukee where a strike is currently tying up work on \$45,000,000 worth of defense orders, and CHARLES H. MORSE of Lake Forest, Ill., chairman of Fairbanks Morse & Co., and Mrs. Morse.

BOSTON

The Boston Globe of February 4, 1941 revealed the following personnel of the Boston Branch of the America First Committee:

JAMES BAYLEY, JR., Temporary Chairman;

MRS. E. SCHIER WELCH of Boston, Secretary-treasurer;

MRS. MARGARET DALY, Headquarters Chairman;

TUDOR GARDINER JR., son of Ex-Gov. TUDOR GARDINER of Maine, Publicity Chairman;

Mrs. EZRA THAYER, Boston

WILLIAM S. BALLARD, Medford

Mrs. HANNAH CONNORS, Milton, president of the American Mothers Neutrality League;

Mrs. LOUIS ARTHUR COOLIDGE, Widow of the late Asst. Secretary of the Treasury under President Taft;

Also, Miss HELEN LONGSTREET COOLIDGE; WILLIAM B. GALLAGHER, head of the 101st Division, V. F. W.; LESLIE P. HENRY regional director of the National Council of the American Bar Association; JAMES HERBERT, Winthrop attorney; Mrs. JOSEPH LANGONE; Mrs. ALBERT LEVIE of Dorchester, former president, Italian Women's Club; Miss MARY MEEHAN of Brighton, former assistant commissioner of labor; Capt. JOHN JOSEPH MURPHY, Jamaica Plain, attorney; Mrs. JOHN REGAN of West Roxbury; MRS. EDA SOZIO of Boston; Mr. and Mrs. DONALD STARR of Boston; Mrs. MARGARET DA of Hingham. Miss FLORENCE BIRMINGHAM, president and founder of the Mass. Women Political club.

7492
The national committee includes Gen. ROBERT E. WOOD as acting chairman and J. SANFORD OTIS, Treasurer.

The AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE of Greater Boston Headquarters were located at 52 Devonshire Street, Boston, Mass. (Telephone Capitol 4144).

ACTIVITIES

The Boston Branch sponsored a public rally at Symphony Hall, Boston, Mass. on February 7, 1941. The chairman of the meeting was TUDOR GARDINER, JR. and other speakers were JAMES BAYLEY, JR. and Atty. JOHN J. MURPHY. The principal speaker was GENERAL HUGH S. JOHNSON. The meeting was attended by approximately twenty-five hundred individuals.

On April 4, 1941, [REDACTED] informed this office that he had attended a meeting of the America First Committee of Greater Boston--date and place not furnished, at which meeting, CLARENCE BARNES exhibited a film entitled, "Which Way America?" M. R. SHAW of Melrose, Mass. spoke on "America's Policy in the Present Crisis."

On April 30, 1941 at Symphony Hall, Boston, Mass. the Boston Branch sponsored a public meeting at which Senator BURTON K. WHEELER of Montana was to be the principal speaker. In preparation for this meeting the Boston branch held a luncheon at Patten's Restaurant, Scollay Square, Boston on April 13, 1941 at which they were addressed by Mrs. E. SCHIER WELCH who, according to the Boston Globe of April 12, 1941, stated that one-third of the country was in need even in spite of the war industrial boom. She said a "Bundles for American Committee" has been organized at the America First headquarters to supply clothing to these people. Other speakers included State Senator JOSEPH HARRINGTON of Salem, Mass. TUDOR GARDINER, JR.; JAMES HERBERT and JOHN COLTER, former secretary to JUDGE JOHN E. HIGGINS.

[REDACTED] advised at this meeting the following plans were discussed to further the activities of this organization. [REDACTED] of Brookline was to be in charge of ushers at the above rally, and the following individuals were to contact the designated groups in furtherance of this rally:

[REDACTED] was to contact Women's Italian Club.

[REDACTED] --Milton

[REDACTED] --to contact American Legion groups.

[REDACTED] --Junior Chamber of Commerce

[REDACTED] --to contact a group

[REDACTED] --Saint Brendon's Society

[REDACTED] --Boston University groups

749j

[REDACTED] -Hyde Park groups

[REDACTED] also stated that one, [REDACTED] expressed the thought that a cripple should never be placed in the driver's seat because he thinks everyone is against him and that approximately 120 people were present--mostly middle aged, predominantly women.

With reference to the above WHEELER meeting, the Boston Globe of April 30, 1941 reflects a lengthy interview with SENATOR WHEELER which is not being quoted here. This article further stated on WHEELER'S arrival in Boston he was received by Governor Saltonstall and Mayor TOBIN and planned to attend a luncheon given by Boston University Law Students at the Boston Bar Association and conference with local America First members and a trip to the National League Base Ball Game, being played in Boston that same afternoon.

The Boston Herald of April 30, 1941 carried a photograph of the following people who are to be ushers at the Symphony Hall rally:

ANNA BONACCORSI
MARY BONACCORSI
FLORA QUINN
VIRGINIA ROBICHEAU

and in this photograph, playing the part of a teacher was PAUL WILLIAM of Cambridge, Mass.

The Boston Post of May 1, 1941 carried a lengthy article on Senator WHEELER'S speech--this press reporting that approximately 5,000 people attended this meeting.

The Boston branch sponsored a public meeting held at Mechanics Bldg. on February 25, 1941 at which the principal speaker was SENATOR HERALD P. WYKE of North Dakota also Ex Senator RUSH HOLT, W. Virginia. Resolutions were unanimously adopted at this rally calling for the following action.

1. That Congress must immediately assert itself and exercise its powers created under the Constitution.
2. That the Neutrality act, whose repeal was demanded today in the Senate, must not and will not be repealed.
3. That the question of war must be submitted to Congress and not be subject to Executive decree.
4. That our soldiers must not be used outside of the Western Hemisphere.

On October 10, 1941 the Boston branch sponsored public rally at Faneuil Hall, Boston at which the following persons spoke:

REVEREND MARK R. SHAW, Melrose

AARON LEVINSTEIN, New York City who was introduced as a friend of the Presidential Candidate, NORMAN THOMAS; JOHN W. REGAN, Headmaster, Dorchester High School for Boys.

7497c
By letter dated April 23, 1941, [REDACTED] submitted the following information: 62
620

"At a recent weekly meeting of the Christian Front, Roxbury, Massachusetts, the director, Mr. FRANCIS P. MORAN, reported to the gathering that he was going to attend a meeting sponsored by the subject organization on Saturday, April 26, at which meeting Colonel LINDBERGH would be the principal speaker.

Mr. MORAN further announced that many organizations would participate in this meeting and that several German-American societies were included. Furthermore, the Christian Front would be strongly represented.

Mr. MORAN is very fanatical in his denunciations against the ROOSEVELT administration and the Jews."

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

The Boston Post of May 24, 1941 reflects that the Cambridge America First Committee was to hold the first of its meetings on May 25, 1941 in the "Elks" Hall, 8 Magazine Street, Cambridge, Mass. The Committee Headquarters were located at 580 Massachusetts Avenue, Central Square, Cambridge, Massachusetts. WILLIAM GALLAGHER was to be the speaker.

SPRINGFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS

According to the Springfield Gazette, May 28, 1941, it reported that the Springfield Chapter of the America First Committee was sponsoring an anti War mass meeting at the Springfield Auditorium on May 28 at which the following speakers were to appear:

Representative HAMILTON FISH, New York City
KATHLEEN MORRIS, Well-known writer; other speakers were to be as follows: PROF. WILLIAM ORTON, Chairman, Smith College, Teacher of Economics JOHN ROSS, Chairman of the Hartford, Connecticut Chapter--America First Committee MRS. MARION BELLAMY EARNSHOW of Springfield. Also DOUGLAS BRAY, Graduate Student of Sociology, Clark University, Worcester, Mass.

The local Committee in charge of the mass meeting included [REDACTED] 6

On December 3, 1941 there was held a public rally at Odd Fellows Hall at which the principal speaker was Senator GERALD P. NYE. It was reported there were approximately 1,000 individuals in attendance. The presiding officer was JAMES BAYLEY, JR. Other speakers included State Senator JAMES B. HARRINGTON and WILLIAM B. GALLAGHER, past commander of Michael Perkins Post, A.L., of Boston.

749L

MAINE

By letter dated September 17, 1941, [REDACTED] submitted the following information:

"At a meeting held August 13, 1941, [REDACTED] a speaker, laid emphasis on the fact that the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE was not organized in the State of Maine. It was learned that [REDACTED] left on August 16, 1941 for Lucerne, Maine, (presumably on vacation), where she is planning to enlist support for a chapter of the A.F.C. This woman is a hard worker, capable of organizing and enlisting interest, indulges in considerable letter writing to Senators, Congressmen and others. (Drives Pontiac, 1941, License Y F 52 NY.).

[REDACTED] has stated that she 'wouldn't blame soldiers for going A.W.O.L. in the event of war and that her great aunt has a little cabin at Lucerne, Maine, and that they were welcome at any time they wanted. It was secluded and no one would ever find them'.

[REDACTED] is a personal friend of Mrs. Burton WHEELER and, with [REDACTED] has made many trips to Washington in the interest of 'WOMEN UNITED'."

CONNECTICUT

By letter dated April 24, 1941, [REDACTED] submitted the following information "Debate between Congressman HAMILTON FISH, Jr. of New York and Mayo ADAMS SHATTUCK of Boston, Mass., on "WHAT SHALL AMERICA DO IN THE PRESENT EMERGENCY".

An audience of about 700 persons heard the above Subject Debate in the Hartford High School, Hartford, Connecticut on April 15, 1941, repeatedly breaking into applause, boos and murmurs, and occasionally stamping off feet. Its most prolonged outburst was when Mr. SHATTUCK, New England chairman of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, asserted that "we must decide whether we're in or out." "Out of it!" a large section of the crowd yelled. The outburst was so sustained that chairman of the meeting rose and declared that he thought "this was a democratic meeting," and Mr. SHATTUCK invited anyone who so desired to come up on the stage and speak. Mr. gallery gave Mr. SHATTUCK considerable applause, but when Representative Fish advocated "aid to Britain short of war and consistent with our own defense," he received a tremendous ovation, and when he mentioned the last war which "we fought to make the world safe for democracy he was greeted with laughter.

There was applause for Mr. FISH whenever he asserted that "we must keep America out of war" and he asserted this many times. He said that American is faced with its greatest issue, the issue of peace or war, and he declared that convoy mean war. He scored the attitude of those who have "one chip on each shoulder and one on the tops of their heads and go out looking for war," and, remarking that the 10 or 15 per cent of the people who want to go to war are entitled to their opinions, asked "How about the other 85 per cent."

749m

PRESENT STATUS

The New York Herald-Tribune dated 12/12/41 reported that the America First Committee had announced that evening it would dissolve and cease all of its functions at once and urged "all those who have followed its lead to give full support to the war effort of the nation, until peace is attained." According to this article they decided to disband. The decision to disband was reached at a lengthy and closed session of the national committee which met at noon at the home of PAGE/HUFTY, National Director of Organization of America First.

From personal observation of reporting agent, it was observed that the office of the America First Committee on this same date was engaged in closing up its offices and since that time there has been no indication that this organization presently exists.

REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **CHICAGO, ILLINOIS**

FILE NO. **100-1259**

REPORT MADE AT PITTSBURGH, Pa.	DATE WHEN MADE 5/29/42	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 5/27, 28/42	REPORT MADE BY [REDACTED] b7c
TITLE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE			CHARACTER OF CASE INTERNAL SECURITY - G

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

Pittsburgh chapter America First formed 4/16/41. Founders listed. Officers were former Senator DAVID A. REED, honorary chairman; S. R. JACKSON, treasurer; K. D. MAGRUDER, secretary; JOHN B. GORDON, executive vice-chairman. Committee held five mass rallies in Pittsburgh at which Senators WHEELER, LAFOLLETTE, NYE, and CLARK spoke on respective occasions. Last meeting December 7 broken up with news of Pearl Harbor. Committee disbanded December 8 with resolution to support war efforts.

[REDACTED] balance and complete membership list forwarded to Chicago headquarters after disbandment. In September 1941 K. D. MAGRUDER split with America First of which he was secretary after America First charged him with using the Committee to spread anti-British, anti-Semitic, anti-gold standard and Townsend Plan propaganda, which were sentiments not included in America First program. MAGRUDER formed new group called Committee for America Only, and drew 100 out of 15,000 members away from America First. These consisted of a group of alleged "Coughlinites". Officers were WILLIAM H. WEIR, JR., president; CHARLES MADDEN, first vice-chairman; K. D. MAGRUDER, secretary. This group also claimed to have disbanded 12/8/41. No indications of continued activity on part of either group, nor of continued communication with

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any national organization.

- P -

REFERENCE:

Bureau letter dated March 16, 1942.

Bureau teletype dated May 11, 1942.

Bureau teletype dated May 26, 1942.

DETAILS:

AT PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA

The following is a chronological clipping history of the formation and the activities of the America First Committee in Pittsburgh insofar as those activities were publicly announced. This clipping history is from the Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph.

An article dated April 18, 1941, announced the formation of the Pittsburgh chapter of the America First Committee. It stated that the announcement was made by JOHN B. GORDON, executive vice-chairman of the new organization. According to the clipping GORDON also announced the dissolution of the Provisional Anti-War Committee of Pittsburgh effective as of April 18, 1941. The article stated that the new Committee was headed by former Senator DAVID A. REED, honorary chairman, and that the officers of the Committee consisted of Attorney GRANT CURRY, treasurer, K. D. MAGRUDER, secretary, and JOHN B. GORDON, executive vice-chairman.

According to an article dated April 29, 1941, K. D. MAGRUDER announced that 1600 citizens had petitioned President Roosevelt to refrain from using convoys in shipping goods to Great Britain. MAGRUDER said: "We have been organized less than a week. So many signers in such a short time ought to convince anyone of the state of public opinion in this district." According to the article MAGRUDER urged citizens to write to Senator WALTER F. GEORGE, and to ask him to vote against convoys.

According to an article dated May 4, 1941, JOHN B. GORDON, executive vice-chairman of the America First Committee extended an invitation to JOSEPH F. GUFFEY, Senator from Pennsylvania, to attend a mass meeting to be held in Pittsburgh on May 12, 1941 and to answer the question, "Is not your announced Advocacy of convoys a violation of your pre-election pledge that you would never vote to send American boys to a foreign war?" This article announced further that former Governor PHILIP LaFOLLETTE would be the principal speaker at the first mass meeting of the Pittsburgh America First Committee at the North Side Carnegie Hall on May 12, 1941.

An article dated May 7, 1941, stated that former Governor PHILIP LaFOLLETTE was scheduled to speak to the America First Committee

on May 12, 1941.

An article dated May 12, 1941, stated that PHILIP LaFOLLETTE talked to the Hungry Club of Pittsburgh on the noon of May 12, 1941, and stated that the fight for freedom in Europe was lost because of man's misuse of the bounty of Almighty God. He urged that generous use of 3¢ stamps could prevent us from getting into war simply by mailing a protest to the President of the United States asking him to keep us out of war.

An article dated May 13, 1941, announced that PHILIP LaFOLLETTE was the principal speaker at the first meeting of the Pittsburgh America First Committee held at the North Side Carnegie Hall on the night of May 12, 1941. The article announced that 2000 people appeared to hear LaFOLLETTE. It further said that during his speech LaFOLLETTE proposed a 6-point plan to put America's house in order. This plan consisted of the following points:

1. No involvement in war in Europe or Africa.
2. Removal of HENRY L. STIMSON and FRANK KNOX, Secretaries of War and Navy.
3. Arming the United States.
4. Curing of internal ills, including the return of control over our monetary system and elimination of the theory of over production.
5. A job for every American.
6. Security for those unable to care for themselves.

An article dated May 13, 1941, described a controversy held between PHILIP LaFOLLETTE, who was the principal speaker at the Hungry Club on May 12, 1941, and FREDERICK C. McKEE, the chairman of the Pittsburgh chapter of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies. The article stated that after the speech by LaFOLLETTE, McKEE asked for and received three minutes in which to answer LaFOLLETTE.

An article dated May 14, 1941, announced that the America First Committee of Pittsburgh were making plans to invite Senator WHEELER and CHARLES A. LINDBERGH to speak in Pittsburgh.

An article dated May 23, 1941, stated that the America First Committee announced the opening of a drive for 25,000 no-war messages to President Roosevelt. The article stated that according to JOHN B. GORDON, executive vice-chairman of the Committee, the Committee had 500 members before LaFOLLETTE spoke in Pittsburgh and that afterward the membership jumped to 5,000 members.

An article dated May 23, 1941, stated that Senator WHEELER would speak at the second mass rally of the America First Committee to be held June 5, 1941. The same article listed a group of 43 Pittsburghers who signed their names to a telegram addressed to former Senator DAVID A. REED, asking him to resign as honorary chairman of the Committee for the reason that some subversive groups support the Committee's objectives. The persons who signed

this telegram according to the article are as follows:

Dr. B. J. HOVDE
Rev. CARL HERMANN VOSS
~~Dr. W. A. HAMAR~~
Dr. H. BOYD EDWARDS
Dr. W. W. CARLSON
Mr. and Mrs. H. B. MCKINNEY
Mr. and Mrs. W. H. LAPPE
Dr. and Mrs. B. R. ALMQUIST
Dr. ABIE G. REINFREY
Dr. A. T. THOMPSON
ANNABELLE TURNER
Dr. R. S. TISON
AUSTIN C. ROWELL
Mr. and Mrs. A. S. CHALFANT
Dr. and Mrs. HENRY RAY
Mrs. P. E. HUNTER
Mrs. MARY H. GERKEN
PAUL SOULMAINE
Mr. and Mrs. W. J. GRAHAM
Dr. and Mrs. W. F. LARAMORE
Mrs. SAMUEL ROSENBERG
Mr. and Mrs. ELLIOTT P. BARRETT
MARIE DAVIDSON
Mrs. JANET WALTERS
Miss VICTORIA ALMQUIST
Mrs. ANNA KERR
Mr. and Mrs. J. R. WILSON
Mrs. E. J. UHL
Mr. and Mrs. W. C. GRAHAM
Mr. and Mrs. R. K. BRINKER
Mr. and Mrs. KENDALL QUEREY

An article dated May 25, 1941, stated that K. I. MAGRUDER made the following statement: "There will be considerable dynamit in the fact that FREDERICK MCKEE, chairman of the Committee to Defend Ameri by Aiding the Allies is treasurer of the National Casket Company which bene lately from the government's huge order for caskets." According to the art MAGRUDER was replying to 47 Pittsburghers who asked former Senator DAVID A. to resign from the Committee.

An article dated May 27, 1941, announced that t Soldiers and Sailors Memorial Hall in Pittsburgh was obtained by the Americ First Committee for the "Senator BERTON K. WHEELER Mass Meeting" to be held

June 5, 1941. The announcement was made by JOHN B. GORDON, executive vice-chairman of the Committee who said that the larger hall was necessary due to the over-flow crowd which attended the last mass meeting at the North Side Carnegie Hall. GORDON is quoted as saying, "This action (meaning the permission to have the meeting in this particular hall) compares very favorably with the action taken in Philadelphia when LINDBERGH was refused permission to speak in the Academy of Music Hall on the grounds that Communists, Nazis, etc., might be present to hear him." GORDON made the statement according to the article that such elements are not eligible for membership in the Pittsburgh chapter of the America First Committee.

An article dated May 28, 1941, stated that the use of the Soldiers and Sailors Memorial Hall by the America First Committee was protested by Sergeant WILLIAM J. CREHAN, a city policeman, who was chairman of the National Defense Committee of the Schenley American Legion Post #663. According to the article, CREHAN had written a letter to the Board of Managers of Memorial Hall saying: "In defense of my protest I say that its use might easily create the impression that the ex-Service men of Pittsburgh are sympathizers and supporters of the program of the so-called America First Committee".

An article dated May 29, 1941, stated that CHARLES A. MADDEN, secretary of the Board of Managers of Memorial Hall, said that WILLIAM J. CREHAN who protested the use of the Memorial Hall by the America First Committee did not represent the veterans of Pittsburgh but merely expressed his own opinion. The article stated that JOHN B. GORDON made the statement that CREHAN spoke only for himself.

An article dated June 1, 1941, stated that Miss LLOYD BRETT, daughter of the late General LLOYD M. BRETT, Commander of the 80th Division, on this day rose to defend the protest of WILLIAM J. CREHAN. She said according to the article: "You speak for hundreds and perhaps thousands who are 100% behind you. We do not want Bundists, Christian frontists, Silver Shirts, and Communists, in our Patriots' Temple." According to the same article Rev. THOMAS R. MURPHY, assistant pastor of St. Canice's Church and a member of the America First Committee stated, "I can see nothing wrong which would desecrate the hall by having the distinguished Senator WHEELER speak there."

According to an article dated June 1, 1941, WALTER J. PETTIT, chairman of the Americanism Committee of the Schenley Post #663 of the American Legion, protested the use of Memorial Hall by the America First Committee.

An article dated June 3, 1941, stated that CHARLES A. MADDEN, secretary of the Board of Governors of Memorial Hall, refused to cancel the permit for a meeting of the America First Committee on June 5, 1941. In the same article it set forth that CHARLES A. MADDEN accused Sergeant WILLIAM J. CREHAN who made the protest against the renting of the hall to the America First

Committee of inviting THOMAS H. WRIGHT who is a Communist who recently addressed American Legion Post #663 in that same Memorial Hall. MADDEN stated in the article that WRIGHT is listed as a Communist in the American Legion book of Ions and he further stated that WRIGHT was prevented at the time he gave his lecture from distributing propaganda concerning "New America" by Mrs. RALPH ORD, the County Council Chaplain. The article went on to state that another protest against the use of the hall by Senator WHEELER came from Dr. H. BOYD EDWARDS, rector of the Church of the Ascension, and also chairman of the Pittsburgh chapter of the Federal Union of Democracy. The article stated that the Federal Union of Democracy would meet on the same night that WHEELER was to speak and that they would meet at the East Liberty Presbyterian Church and would have DANIEL A. PALING of Philadelphia as their speaker.

An article dated June 3, 1941, stated that CHARLES A. MADDEN made a definite statement that there was no possibility of the permission granted the America First Committee to meet on June 5, 1941, of being canceled.

An article dated June 5, 1941, announced that J. GUN GRIFFITH of New Kensington, Pennsylvania, made an announcement that the Legionnaires who were going to usher at the America First Committee meeting on the night of June 5, 1941, have orders not to wear their Legion uniforms. GRIFFITH stated that he received these instructions from RALPH DREOG of the Judge Advocate's Office in Washington.

An article dated June 5, 1941, quoted a statement made by DAVID A. REED in an interview previous to the mass meeting to be held that same night. He was asked what action he planned to take on the telegram received by him from 47 Pittsburghers in which they urged him to resign from the Committee. His answer was, "An army can't very well avoid camp followers nor be judged by them."

This article further stated that at the meeting to be held on that night by the America First Committee at the Memorial Hall, DAVID A. REED would introduce Senator WHEELER who was the principal speaker. It went on to state that Reverend LOUIS M. HIRSHOW, rector of St. Stephen's Episcopal Church in Sewickley, Pa., would give the invocation; that Rev. ARVA LEE ICE, pastor of the Wilkinsburg Baptist Church, would take the collection; that Rev. JOHN R. McKAVNEY, pastor of St. John's Evangelist Catholic Church would give the benediction, and that the Grafton, Pa., Community Band would play.

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An article dated June 6, 1941 carried an extensive story concerning the meeting held the night before. It stated partly as follows: "Senator Burton K. Wheeler, decrying this nation's sacrifices for Great Britain while 'American children die of malnutrition', called on the United States to stay out of war unless the defense of this homeland became involved." The article stated that SENATOR WHEELER brought repeated cheers from a throng of over four thousand people. It further described an incident in which, after an ovation of several minutes in honor of BURTON WHEELER, one Mrs. GRACE EWART, of 2506 Kingwood Street, Overbrook, Pa., stood up and shouted: "The going must be tough if you have to lameduck your way into the Communist Party." After this, several people in the audience yelled: "Throw her out." On one further occasion, when BURTON K. WHEELER said: "The modern Benedict Arnold.....", JAMES EWART, the son of the woman just mentioned, stated before WHEELER could go on: "is Burton K. Wheeler". The article went on to state that a welcoming speech for Senator WHEELER was given by CHARLES A. MADDEN, Secretary of the Board of Managers of Memorial Hall, who said in his speech: "Let there be no more gold star mothers in the United States unless they are defending the shores of the United States and its possessions."

An article dated July 3, 1941 announced that SENATOR DAVID R. REED in an interview made the statement that any claim that the United States would be economically isolated in event of a Hitler victory is nonsense. He said: "Our world trade is not dependent on who likes or dislikes us. It is a matter of business and economic necessity."

An article of July 13, 1941 stated that the America First Committee was circulating petitions for a referendum on whether or not this country would enter war.

An article of July 13, 1941 printed a statement of JOHN B. GORDON, Executive Vice Chairman of the America First Committee of Pittsburgh to the effect that the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies has for its purpose the United States' entrance into war. The article quotes GORDON as follows: "The Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies now wishes to be known as the Committee to Defend America. It is understandable why they want to drop the 'Aiding the Allies' now that Russia is one of them. Why they wish to be known as the Committee to Defend America is not so plain. They approve the seizure of Iceland and will approve American bases in Ireland and Scotland. What they want is war and not defense."

An article dated July 17, 1941 states that the America First Committee was denied a permit to use a sound truck for the purpose of advertising its third mass rally to be held on July 18, 1941. According to the

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article, JOHN B. GORDON made the statement that the Mayor was too busy to see him regarding the failure of the Police Department to give him permission to use a sound truck.

An article of July 18, 1941 stated that STEPHEN A. DAY, one of the outstanding opponents of "Union Now", was the principal speaker at a rally of the Pittsburgh Chapter of the America First Committee held at the North Side Carnegie Hall on July 18, 1941. It is noted that this rally was very little publicized in comparison to previous rallies.

An article dated July 20, 1941 stated that JOHN B. GORDON made a public denial of accusations that at the meeting of July 18, 1941 calls of "impeach Roosevelt" were made at the America First rally. He stated that if such remarks were heard, they were individual remarks and did not express the sentiment of the America First Committee.

An article dated August 12, 1941 stated that more than a dozen Pittsburgh mothers were in Washington on that date to picket the Capitol in an attempt to block the passage by the house of representatives of a draft extension. The article stated that the drive on Washington broke out spontaneously at an America First Committee meeting the night before, according to K. D. MAGRUDER, Secretary of the Committee.

An article dated August 17, 1941 quoted JOHN B. GORDON as stating that the America First Committee in Pittsburgh had at that time more than 11,000 members in Pittsburgh. GORDON gave as the reason for the rapid increase in membership the Committee's fight for a referendum on peace or war.

An article of September 16, 1941 told of the resignation from the America First Committee of EMANUEL AMDUR, who had been a member of the Advisory Board of the Committee. AMDUR's reason for resigning was the anti-Semitic speech of CHARLES LINDBERG given a few days before at Des Moines, Iowa.

An article dated September 28, 1941 stated that the America First Committee had released for publication a letter that it had addressed to Mayor Scully of Pittsburgh asking him that he proclaim October 6 as "America For Peace Day", since he had previously proclaimed June 25th as "Freedom Rally Day". On June 25th, it is to be noted that Colonel WILLIAM DONOVAN gave a speech at the Syria Mosque in Pittsburgh sponsored by the

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Fight For Freedom Committee and the Mayor introduced DONOVAN at this occasion and proclaimed that day as "Freedom Rally Day". Reminding the Mayor of this proclamation, the America First Committee asked that he proclaim the day of their next mass rally as "America For Peace Day".

The article went on to state that Mayor SCULLY refused to honor the request made in this letter and did not even answer it.

An article dated October 3, 1941 states that in view of the refusal of the Mayor to announce October 6th as "America For Peace Day", JOHN B. GORDON announced that the Committee itself would proclaim this day as "America For Peace Day".

An article dated October 4, 1941 announced that SAMUEL HARDEN CHURCH made an announcement that he would only approve the use of the Carnegie Music Hall in Pittsburgh for the meeting of the America First Committee on October 6th if Colonel CHARLES LINDBERG would agree not to come to Pittsburgh and speak. CHURCH announced that if LINDBERG were coming to speak, the permission to hold the meeting at Carnegie Music Hall would not be given.

An article dated October 4, 1941 announced that Reverend CARL H. VOSS denounced Colonel LINDBERG and the America First Committee, charging them with spreading the virus of race hatred in a letter released to his congregation.

An article dated October 5, 1941 gave a public denouncement by SENATOR DAVID A. REED, who lashed at Reverend CARL H. VOSS' remarks of a few days before about religion in Russia. Senator REED called upon Americans to repudiate all attempts to Stalinize or Hitlerize our constitution.

An article dated October 5, 1941 carried a public announcement by JOHN B. GORDON of the America First Committee branding as libel the letter of Reverend C. H. VOSS and claimed that the America First Committee is not against any race.

An article dated October 6, 1941 announced a public mass meeting and a parade on October 6, 1941 by the America First Committee. It noted that this is the fourth mass rally of the Committee in Pittsburgh.

An article dated October 7, 1941 gave a several column account of the public mass meeting of the America First Committee at Carnegie Music Hall on the night before. It stated that more than 2,000 people cheered Senator BENNETT CHAMP CLARK's attack on war. Much of the discussion was given

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to a description of how the EWART family for the second time heckled the America First meeting. The EWART family, consisting of Mr. and Mrs. EWART and their son JAMES, continually heckled the speakers at this meeting.

An article dated October 8, 1941 told of the America First Committee's action in sending a record containing speeches in favor of America First policy to the EWART family, so that they would be able to heckle America First speeches without being rude to Senators of the United States.

An article dated October 11, 1941 carried a denial by the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies of any part of the action of the EWART family in heckling America First Committee meetings.

An article dated October 16, 1941 announced that the America First Committee had made additions to its Advisory Board as follows:

GEORGE F. OTTO
R. A. MacDOWELL
Mrs. DRATON HEARD
Mrs. J. SCOTT THORNTON

An article dated October 16, 1941 announced that two America First branch meetings had been scheduled in the Pittsburgh District for that day. One of these was held in East Carnegie in Republican Hall. It announced that Reverend THOMAS R. MURPHY of St. Canice's Church gave the invocation and that the speakers were:

K. D. MAGRUDER
CHARLES A. MADDEN
16-year-old DON McCORNICK
Reverend Dr. HODGE M. EAGLESON

The other meeting, according to this article, was held at the home of Mrs. ELIZABETH J. MILLER of 130 Third Street, Aspinwall, Pa. The speaker at this meeting was CHARLES SNYDER, who, according to the article, organized the America First Chapter at Wheaton College.

The article further stated that CHARLES MADDEN had addressed an America First group, who met at the home of Mrs. MARK CAMPBELL of Glasgow Road, Valencia, Pa.

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An article dated October 23, 1941 announced that KENNETH D. MAGRUDER, Former Secretary of the America First Committee in Pittsburgh, made the assertion that he was quitting the America First Committee because of the fact that JOHN B. GORDON tried to act as too much of a dictator. The article stated that MAGRUDER was a charter member of the America First Committee in Pittsburgh and that he and other persons who had become disgruntled with the leadership of the America First Committee had decided to leave the Committee and had threatened to rally the disgruntled elements into a rival society. This article stated that MAGRUDER resides at 5562 Hobart Street. It quoted MAGRUDER as saying: "There has been trouble from the start. We have looked on this as a people's government. With Gordon it has been a closed corporation. The article further said that MAGRUDER made the statement that GORDON tried to prevent meetings of the Committee's organizers and tried to invoke regulations in a constitution which had never been ratified by the members. The same article gave JOHN B. GORDON's reply to these charges made by MAGRUDER. GORDON stated that the issue was not dictatorship on his part but that certain elements were not permitted by him to bring anti-Semitic, anti-British and anti-gold standard views before the public in the name of the America First Committee, since these sentiments were not an official part of the program of the America First Committee. JOHN GORDON made the further statement that the America First Committee would be refreshed by the departure of the elements that tend to give the Committee a black eye. GORDON was supported by CLAY PUGH, a member of the National Office of the America First Committee, who said in a letter to MAGRUDER "The large Monday night meetings are to be discontinued. At your next Monday meeting on October 20th you are to instruct this group that there will be no more assemblages of this sort." In the same letter PUGH indicated, according to the report, that there were other issues involved and the letter went on to say: "You know that we will not permit membership of Nazis, Bundists, Fascists or Communists in this organization." The article went on to state that MAGRUDER had said that he did not know when or where he would hold the first rally of his new organization. He said that it would depend upon conversations he would have with some of his friends. The article went on to state that JOHN B. GORDON said that MAGRUDER's group represented only about 3/10 of one per cent of the membership of the America First Committee.

An article dated October 24, 1941 carried a release by the America First Committee which challenged the "Fight For Freedom Committee" to introduce a declaration of war resolution into Congress and see what would happen to it.

An article dated October 25, 1941 carried an answer by K. D. MAGRUDER to the charges made by JOHN B. GORDON and CLAY PUGH against him when he split with the America First Committee. MAGRUDER stated that he did

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not know of anyone in his group who had been a Townsendite. It is noted that among the charges of GORDON was the charge that Townsend Plan propaganda was being spread by the Magruder group. Concerning PUGH, MAGRUDER said: "To me, Mr. PUGH said that nobody could be a good American without being pro-British and that anybody not pro-British must be pro-Nazi."

An article dated November 3, 1941 compared the activities of the two committees in Pittsburgh, namely the America First Committee and "The Committee for America Only", the latter of which had been established by K. D. MAGRUDER after he had split with the America First Committee. This article said: "Divided as to methods but united as to objectives, the America First Committee and the Committee for America Only both fought against repeal of the Neutrality Act today. The America First Committee, led by J. B. GORDON took the moderate measure of presenting a petition signed by 4,171 persons to Senators NIE and WHEELER. The Committee for America Only, favoring more energetic methods, heard its leaders, WILLIAM H. WEIR, JR., and KENNETH D. MAGRUDER, advocate a march on the capital in Washington, 'to put the fear of God into the Representatives'". The same article went on to state that an America First national meeting had been held in Washington and had been attended by the following persons from Pittsburgh:

Dr. JOHN W. BRANDT

M. E. ARMERUSTER, Secretary (apparently
ARMERUSTER replaced K. D. MAGRUDER
as Secretary of the America First
Committee)

Attorney CRAIG T. WOOD

An article dated November 14, 1941 announced that GORDON spoke on November 13, 1941 at an America First meeting at Spring School at Allentown, Pa., at which he said that the real purpose of the Neutrality Act rescission was to get America into war.

An article dated December 5, 1941 stated that Senator NYE, C. HALE SIPE and IRENE CASTLE McLAUGHLIN would speak at an America First Rally on December 7.

No further information was contained in the morgue of the Sun Telegraph. Continued activities of the America First Committee, however, were reported as follows in the other Pittsburgh newspapers.

An article in the Pittsburgh Post Gazette, dated December 4, 1941 announced that Senator NYE would talk to the America First Committee, with "Christianity and Intervention" as the theme of the meeting. It announced that this meeting would take place at the Soldiers and Sailors Memorial Hall in Oakland on Sunday afternoon, December 7. The article went on to quote JOHN B. GORDON as saying: "The American people are not going to war unless they are convinced it is their duty to God and country. Therefore, we have selected an appropriate theme for our Sunday meeting. The American people will not plunge the world into a blood bath over tin mines in the Orient or rubber plantations in some obscure jungle. All the double-talk and power politics of all the interventionists will not change the fact that we are wiser now than we were in 1917."

An article in the Pittsburgh Post Gazette, dated December 8, 1941 carried a full account of the last of the open rallies held by the America First Committee in Pittsburgh. The article stated that approximately 2500 Pittsburgh people sat in the Soldiers and Sailors Memorial Hall for two and one-half turbulent hours before their leaders, headed by Senator GERALD P. NYE, told them about the war with Japan. The article went on to state that during Senator NYE'S anti-war speech, a reporter silently approached the stage and placed a note on the rostrum before him, telling him of the attack on Pearl Harbor. The article stated that Senator NYE kept on talking for over fifteen minutes before he gave the news to the people in attendance, and when he did so, stated that he could hardly believe the news. When it was evident that the news was true he said "If Congress were to declare war, I am sure that every America Firster would be cooperating and supporting his government in the winning of that war, in every way possible, but I should not expect them to disband, even if Congress declares war. At this meeting the EWART family, mentioned before, appeared for the third time, to heckle the America Firsters, and almost caused a riot. Several of the America Firsters attempted to give the son of the EWARTS a physical beating when he ran up on the stage and grabbed the microphone out of the hands of the speaker.

During a speech by Senator C. HALE SIPE, Colonel ENRIQUE URRUTIA, white-haired Chief of the Second Military Area, of the Organized Reserves, jumped from his aisle seat, well back in the auditorium and yelled out "Can this meeting be called after what has happened in the last few hours? Do you know that Japan has attacked Hawaii?" Cries of "Throw him out, throw him o

were heard all through the aisles. The Colonel then left the hall under a police guard, and after he left, Senator SIPE said "Don't be too hard on this poor bombastic man. He is only a mouthpiece for FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT - only another sounding board for the war mongers."

This newspaper clipping is being retained in the Pittsburgh file.

Later in the evening, Senator NYE gave another speech before the First Baptist Church in Pittsburgh. In his speech he said: "There is nothing Americans can do but accept the challenge and move forward with American lives, blood and money to the protection of our people and possessions in the Pacific." He said further: "There is nothing to do but declare war."

In the Pittsburgh Post Gazette on December 9, 1941, there was an article entitled "America First Unit Bows Out of Picture." This article stated that in a record twelve minute session, the Advisory Board of the Pittsburgh America First Chapter on the evening of December 8, 1941, formally dissolved and the 15,000 members it claimed were pledged "To unity of support of the government in the prosecution of the war." The Board, with fifteen members attending, voted unanimously to dissolve, after the reading of a resolution introduced by Senator DAVID A. REED, Honorary Chairman. Senator REED told the board he had "no apologies for trying to keep his nation at peace." "There is nothing for us to do", he claimed, "but our American duty now that the Japanese have started the war." According to the article, dismantling of the headquarters of the America First Committee at 629 Liberty Avenue, Pittsburgh, started as early as the morning of December 8, 1941, according to Executive Chairman, JOHN B. GORDON.

No further newspaper history is contained regarding the subject organization.

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

The writer further observed a letter written to the National Headquarters of the America First Committee and dated February 6, 1942 in which was enclosed a check for \$447.00, the balance of the money left over in the Pitt

burgh Chapter Treasury, in which was enclosed also, the complete membership list of the Pittsburgh Chapter of the Committee, and in which a statement was made that the Pittsburgh Committee thereby had wound up all its affairs, and from that time on would cease to engage in any activities. b2 b7D

[redacted] advised that there really had been no activity after December 8, when the Committee officially disbanded, except the paying of bills and the clearing up of certain financial obligations, which the Committee had.

[redacted] advised that he was and would be, unable to supply [redacted]

[redacted] and did not intend to engage any further in any of the activities of the America First Committee. He stated that to his knowledge, this was the sentiment of all the members of the America First Committee in Pittsburgh, and that he had no knowledge of any activity whatsoever, since the official disbandment of the Committee. He stated, however, that a group of persons whom he knew as "Coughlinites", headed by KENNETH MAGRUDER, had broken away from the Committee after a series of clashes, in which the so-called "Coughlinites" attempted to inject into the policies of the America First Committee, certain anti-Jewish, anti-British, anti-Gold Standard and Townsend Plan propaganda. He stated that MAGRUDER split from the America First Committee and took with him approximately 100 members, with whom he formed a new Committee known as "The Committee for America Only". He stated that it was highly possible that these persons continued to meet, although they, too, announced an official disbandment. He said that if they were meeting, they were doing so in private homes of some of the members. b6 b7C

An attempt will be made by [redacted] to furnish this office with as many names as possible of those who broke away from the America First Committee, after being charged with attempting to insert propaganda of an unsavory nature.

[redacted] stated that he was positive that the good members of the America First Committee had no contact with any national organization, nor do they intend to continue in any way, the activities of the America First Committee. He stated that they intend in no way to keep the organization intact in Pittsburgh, and as a matter of fact, since the official disbandment of them, he and the other members of the Committee known to him, have not met or discussed or engaged in any activities whatsoever.

[redacted] known to the Bureau, attended the America First Committee Rally on June 5, 1941. At this meeting, he obtained a contribution envelope, on the outside of which was the following: "America First Committee is open to all patriotic American citizens. We exclude from our rolls Fascists, Nazis, Communists and members of the Bund." According to [redacted] a large percentage of the attendance of this meeting, however, was German or German-American.

can. These persons were known to him as being Germans. He stated that the Steuben Society furnished a very large part of the audience, as did practically all of the different German societies and Bunds in Pittsburgh. He stated further that this meeting was very widely published in all German circles. He stated that from Homestead, Pa. alone, there were about 200 Germans present.

With reference to the personal sentiments of certain of the individual members of the America First Committee who appeared on the Advisory Board, or as being very close to it, [REDACTED] furnished this office with some letters which were received [REDACTED]

The following are the letters:

"Dear Sir:

"Your recent propaganda sheet labeled 'News Release' has just been received, and I note that you refer to a \$60,000,000 being spent here as 'reported by the press' being spent by totalitarian governments. Why, sir, don't have the common decency and honesty to also admit that Britain's officials admitted that during the last war they spent \$150,000,000. and referred to it as the 'best investment' they made, which was obviously correct. We are advised that already they have provided even greater sums - why don't you make some mention of these things, sir? I am a scientist, a field where the truth and unbiased statements hold - I judge in your propaganda line these policies are untenable.

"Within the past two years I have been in Europe and visited many of its countries, including Germany - I know full well just how distorted the picture is made to Americans - I have experienced that America's free press refuses to print one word revealing the other side of the story, thanks to the semetic guidance of our news instrumentalities.

"Won't you please ask Mr. White and won't you please explain in your next letter just how it is that while Britain fights for all your grand things, yet for years she has tried to woo red, communist, athiest Russia as her military and economic ally? Won't you please, too, quote what Mr. Churchill had to say about old U.S.A., last time "To Save Democracy"?

"This is written by one who had served in our reserve officers corps, one of an American family for nearly two hundred years, but who can recognize the same old trap of last war days, redressed."

"Very truly,

/s/ [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
22 July, 1940

It is noted that [REDACTED]

"Dear Sirs:

"It is with deep sincerity that I critize the stand you have taken in regard to our national defense and aid for the Allies. Although fabulous sums have been spent for our defense in the past eight years, President Roosevelt advises us that we are practically defenseless. With this knowledge of this startling fact, and without the approval of Congress, aid has been sent to the Allies. b7

"The British Empire covers one fourth of the earth's surface. It has the richest domains in the world - all sending dividends and resources home to London at this time. Why, then should a defenseless country with an unbalanced budget send their 'obsolete' war equipment to such a country? What financial arrangements are made for the payment of this equipment that is now being sent?

"Most of the people taking the stand you take are past the war age and claim that they want to continue living in a Democracy as they have in the past. We young people just want a chance to keep on living. Give us that chance and we will see to it that this country remains a democracy."

"Yours very truly

/s/ [REDACTED]

b7c

It will also be noted that [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] advised that only three sizeable donations were given to the America First Committee to help it get started, and that thereafter all donations were small and insignificant. The three sizeable donations were \$100.00 from [REDACTED]. He stated further that there were no donations which noticeably came from groups suspected of being Nazi or Communistic. b7c

THE COMMITTEE FOR AMERICA ONLY

An article in the Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph, dated October 27, 1941 stated that a new anti-war group, which broke away from the America First Committee, had been formed and was headed by WILLIAM H. WEIR, JR. a strong supporter of the Townsend Old Age Pension Plan. The article stated that WEIR was elected Chairman at the first meeting of the new group, which called themselves "The Committee for America Only." The article went on to say that WEIR has run unsuccessfully for the City Council and for Congress on the Republican ticket. It stated that he has also been President of the National Recovery Association, which is interested in old age pensions. The article went on to state that CHARLES A. MADDEN (Secretary of the Board of Governors of the Soldiers and Sailors Memorial Hall in Pittsburgh) was elected First Vice Chairman of the new group. It stated that MADDEN is active in Veterans groups, was Chairman of the Veterans Division of the America First Committee, and in 1938 was the Democratic candidate for Congress in Pittsburgh. The article further stated that K. D. MAGRUDER, who led the revolt against the America First Committee, charging that he did not submit to dictators, and who describes himself as a criminologist, and historian, as well as a social worker, was elected Secretary of the new group. The first meeting of the new group, according to the article, was held at the home of CHARLES MADDEN, 301 South Negley Avenue, East End, Pittsburgh. The other officers elected at the meeting were, Miss MAGDALENE E. McLUCKIE, Second Vice Chairman and Mrs. MYRTLE COLLINS, Treasurer. The article quoted MAGRUDER as saying that 25 persons attended the meeting, and that they are only part of those who revolted from the America First Committee. He said also "We drew up our Constitution. It is a peoples' Constitution, such as we were told we could not have in the America First Committee. This group was not formed to act against the interests of the America First Committee. The Committee for America Only is not a rival of the America First Committee. Actually, we shall be broadening the work of the America First Committee."

An article dated October 30, 1941 in the Pittsburgh Sun Telegraph, stated that the Committee for America Only had scheduled a mass meeting for 3:00 P.M. on that date in the ballroom of the Keystone Hotel. No further record on this meeting is had.

An article in the Pittsburgh Sun Telegraph, dated November 10, 1941 stated that Pittsburgh's America Only Committee was sponsoring a march on Washington on that night, to stage a protest on the next day. The article stated "The scion of the America First Committee, which declared itself independent from the America First Committee, because they were 'tired of just writing letters' would meet other peace groups on the capitol steps and demonstrate. According to the article, leading the delegation were WILLIAM J. WEIR, Chairman of the America Only Committee, Mrs. MARIE LOHLE and K. D. MAGRUDER.

According to a Pittsburgh Sun Telegraph article dated November 17, 1941, K. D. MAGRUDER, Secretary for Pittsburgh's Committee for America Only, advocated the lifting of the British Food Embargo imposed on Nazi conc

nations in Europe. He said "Starvation and resultant pestilence make fertile ground for the growth of dictatorship, and they invite bitterness against the nation or nations responsible for this slow murder."

[redacted] known to the Bureau, advised on December 9, 1941, that the Committee for America Only, during the middle of November, opened a storeroom at 210 Stanwix Street. He said that this group had previously been affiliated with the America First Committee and that K. D. MAGRUDER became the Secretary of the new group. [redacted] stated that when MAGRUDER was in charge of the America First Committee at 629 Liberty Avenue, quite a few of the pro-German and Nazi element visited him there frequently, and some of them became quite friendly with him, and tried to impress him with the work they were doing for America First. He went on to say that very often they would get some printed matter from MAGRUDER to distribute among their friends. [redacted] added that when the office of the new group was opened, MAGRUDER had quite a few visitors from the pro-German element, who seemed to show a preference for MAGRUDER.

On November 17, 1941, [redacted] advised Special Agent [redacted] of the Pittsburgh Office that [redacted]

An article in the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette dated Monday, December 8, 1941, stated that according to K. D. MAGRUDER, the America Only Committee, an offshoot of the America First Committee, hopes "To go on serving the best interests of America, if the Government will let us." The article went on to quote MAGRUDER as saying, "But I expect the Government will not tolerate any organization that was connected with America First." Decision on whether to disband America Only will be made at an Executive Committee Meeting," MAGRUDER said.

An article in the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette dated December 9, 1941, which announced the dissolution of the America First Committee, also made the following announcement: "The Committee for America Only, rebel offspring of The America First Group, decided at an Executive Meeting last night, to suspend activities for the duration of the war. When Secretary K. D. MAGRUDER, the organization's sponsor, was asked whether that meant dissolution, he replied that "we will in effect be hibernating, ready to serve the nation again, whenever the need may arise."

[redacted] advised that he has no knowledge [redacted]

of any activities or of any connection with any national organization on the part of the Committee for America Only. He said, however, that he has had no connection with the group, and is not in a position to say whether or not they are meeting. b2 b7

On November 19, 1941, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Those applying stated that the officers of the Committee were WILLIAM W. WEIR, JR. Chairman, CHARLES A. MADDEN, Vice Chairman and K. D. MAGRUDER, Secretary.

The following literature is being added to the file:

1. A small pamphlet entitled "Self Evidenced Truths about Unalienable Rights" by KENNETH DANN MAGRUDER
2. America First, according to George Washington, published by the national office of the America First Committee
3. America First Committee - Aims and Activities, published by the national office of the America First Committee
4. The America First Committee - The Nazi Transmission Belt, published by Friends of Democracy, Inc., 103 Park Ave., New York City.
5. A throw-away, criticising FRANK KNOX, published by the national headquarters of the America First Committee
6. Box score of Our Peril, published by the national headquarters of the America First Committee
7. A contribution envelope of America First Committee, 629 Liberty Ave., Pittsburgh, stating that the Committee excludes from their rolls, Fascists, Nazis, Communists and members of the Bund.

It is noted that the America First Committee (Pittsburgh Chapter) published a paper called "America First Herald". This paper appeared in only four issues, the first dated September 26, 1941. Two copies of this paper are in the Pittsburgh file. An attempt will be made to get all issues of this, and forward the same to the Bureau.

UNDEVELOPED LEADS

THE PITTSBURGH FIELD DIVISION

AT PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA

Will attempt to set out further identification and personal history of various members of the America First Committee.

Will attempt to ascertain whether or not the group which broke away from the America First Committee is still meeting in Pittsburgh, or whether or not any part of the America First Committee is still meeting in Pittsburgh.

Will obtain copies of all issues of the paper, "America First Herald", and will forward copies of the same to the Bureau.

Will contact [REDACTED] for a list of those persons who left the America First Committee.

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- P E N D I N G -

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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